

SAC, LOS ANGELES (65-5177)

May 28, 1954

SAC, WFO (100-22286)

ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE
ESPIONAGE - R
(WFO - 00)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/24/82 BY 9803 RDD/Hcy

Re WFO letter to New York dated December 9, 1953, WFO routing slip to Los Angeles dated March 22, 1954, and WFO Air-Tel dated April 14, 1954.

Los Angeles requested to immediately submit results of its file reviews on DORIS GLICKMAN and JERRY HALL.

In addition Los Angeles is requested to advise if it was possible to cover STONE's speech in Los Angeles on April 22, 1954 before the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom.

DEW/mmd
REGISTERED MAIL

LLZ:cb

100-22286-268

SAC, SEATTLE (65-3330)

May 28, 1954

SAC, WFO (100-22286)

ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE
ESPIONAGE - R
(WFO - OO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/23/92 BY 983 rda/hay

Re WFO letter to New York dated December 9, 1953, and WFO
routing slip to Seattle, March 22, 1954.

Seattle requested to immediately submit the results of its
file review on R. P. JOHNSON, 507 South G Street, Tacoma, Washington.

DEW/mmd
REGISTERED MAIL

LLC *B*

100-22286-269

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

WASHINGTON FIELD

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE MAY 28 1954	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/2, 5, 18; 5/13, 17, 18/54	REPORT MADE BY <div></div>
TITLE ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE, was			CHARACTER OF CASE ESPIONAGE - R

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Information set forth concerning identity of three correspondents of STONE. Information regarding two speeches by subject set out.

- RUC -

10/21/91
Classified by 9803 Add Hay/KAB
Declassify on: OADR

DETAILS: At Lynbrook, New York

SA JOHN J. MANNING conducted the following investigation:

It is recalled that Dr. MARSTON L. HAMLIN visited the I. F. STONE residence, 5618 Nebraska Avenue, Washington, D. C., on October 21, 1953, according to T-1, of known reliability.

Miss MARY CAHILL, Postmaster, Lynbrook, New York, advised that she did not know Dr. HAMLIN, who resides at 251 Rocklyn Avenue, Lynbrook, New York.

United States Post Office Carrier BENJAMIN PEESE advised that he has not seen or heard anything to indicate pro-Communist affiliations on the part of Mr. or Mrs. HAMLIN.

FILE STRIPPED

Date 7/10/75
Initials JCN

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
		100-22286-270	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		SEARCHED INDEXED	FILED
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③ - Washington Field (100-22286) (RM)		JUN 1 1954	
2 - New York (100-90640)		CONFIDENTIAL	

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-90640

Mrs. GEORGE HAY, 233 Rocklyn Avenue, Lynbrook, New York, advised that she has never heard anything to indicate that HAMLIN is pro-Communist although she recalled that at one time he was a member of the "Wallace for President" movement and was instrumental in bringing HENRY WALLACE to Lynbrook on one occasion to make a speech. She expressed the opinion that Dr. HAMLIN is somewhat eccentric but not pro-Communist.

Mrs. G. CUNNINGHAM, No. 4 Garfield Place, advised that she has known the HAMLIN family for sixteen years and considers them loyal Americans. On one occasion she heard that Dr. HAMLIN's son, [redacted] was dismissed from some St. Louis High School, where he was employed for pro-Communist activities. She believed that this took place in 1952 or 1953. She did not know any of the particulars in the above matter and did not know of any pro-Communist activities on the part of Dr. HAMLIN or his family.

Captain WILLIAM FOLEY, Nassau County Police Department, Mineola, advised he had no record on Dr. HAMLIN or his family.

At New York, New York

It is recalled that according to T-1, of known reliability, I. F. STONE claimed a leather brief case at the baggage window of the Trailways Bus Depot, 11th Street and New York Avenue, Northwest Washington, D. C., on October 23, 1953, and it was determined that it had been shipped by one [redacted] 46 West 57th Street, New York City. The contents of the brief case were not known to T-1.

It is noted that [redacted] brother of I. F. STONE, is employed at 46 West 57th Street, New York City, and it is, therefore, probable that he was the individual shipping the brief case to the subject.

T-2, of known reliability, reported that the occupant of Apartment G-2, 6804 Burns Street, Forest Hills, New York, corresponded with I. F. STONE in April and May, 1953. At 6804 Burns Street, it was observed that the name WIENER was listed on the lobby directory as the occupant of G-2. (S)

SE [redacted] checked the records of the Board of Elections, Queens County, New York, which disclosed that the party living in the above apartment is ARTHUR WIENER, age 68, who was born in Germany and naturalized in Brooklyn, New York, on November 30, 1944. In 1952 he registered to vote

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NY 100-90640

but expressed no preference as to a political party. These records further showed his wife is GERTA RIES/VIENER, age 53, born in England; and naturalized in Brooklyn, New York, on December 26, 1939. In 1952 she registered a preference for one of the two major political parties.

A review of the indices of the New York Office disclosed no information identifiable with ARTHUR VIENER or his wife, GERTA.

No record could be found in the New York Office identifiable with the following individuals who, according to T-2, corresponded with I. F. STONE between mid April, 1953 and early December, 1953: ~~(S)~~

J. FRANK/LUCAS
59 Thompson Street
New York City

E./McCARTHY
Route 1
Hampton Bay, Long Island

JACK/MILLER
211 East 35th Street
New York City

E. G. WOOD
219 Clinton Avenue
New Rochelle, New York

MARTIN/CHRISTIANSON
1154 Bedford Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

GILBERT H./LIEBERMAN
389 Fifth Avenue
New York City

S. WEINDRING
110 Riverside Drive
New York City

NY 100-90640

T-2 advised that the subject received correspondence from H. KLIEMAN, 102 West 85th Street, New York. The telephone directory for New York City reflects that one HELEN KLIEMAN resides at that address. ~~X~~

T-3, of known reliability, advised [REDACTED]

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JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG were subsequently convicted of espionage involving the conveying of atomic bomb information to a foreign power.

T-2 advised that the subject received correspondence from the occupant of Apartment 92, 450 Riverside Drive, New York City, on May 20, and October 3, 1953. ~~X~~

It is noted that the occupant of this apartment is CORLISS LAMONT, well-known lecturer and writer. ~~X~~

On June 23, 1950 LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker" and a Communist Party functionary until he broke with the Party in 1945, advised SA WILLIAM J. MCCARTHY that he first met LAMONT in 1934 or 1935. BUDENZ stated that he subsequently learned officially that LAMONT was a member of the Communist Party.

According to T-2, the occupant of Suite 803, 114 East 32nd Street, corresponded with the subject on September 9 and November 9, 1953. ~~X~~

It is noted that the occupant of this suite is the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship which has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. ~~X~~

T-4, of known reliability, advised that I. F. STONE spoke to a meeting of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee held at Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 West 57th Street, New York City, on January 29, 1954. He was introduced by Mr. VERN COUNTRYMAN of the Yale Law School. The subject expressed resentment at Attorney General BROWNELL and Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY for their use of loyalty tests and investigations which he feels is opposing freedom of speech. STONE said that the denial of passports to certain individuals is a threat to freedom. He opposed wire tapping and said that everyone is entitled to privacy. He said no person should be tried and condemned because of association with persons who are thought to be subversive. He referred to the JUDY COPLON case and said the government officials made fools of themselves by picking up Miss COPLON without a warrant.

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The "Daily Worker" of March 2, 1954 on page 8 carried an article concerning a forthcoming dinner to be held in Newark, New Jersey to honor JAMES IMBRIE, Chairman of the Progressive Party of New Jersey. It was stated that the dinner would be followed by a rally at which CORLISS LAMONT and I. F. STONE would speak on McCarthyism.

The "Daily Worker" for March 5, 1954 on page 4 carried an article concerning a meeting of the Chicago Committee for Academic and Professional Freedom, which was held on or about March 4, 1954. I. F. STONE made a speech, stating that EISENHOWER's surrender to McCARTHY was a shocking betrayal of the American people. The real evil, STONE said, was not only in McCARTHY's methods and procedures but in "the very idea that Congress has a right to interrogate people on their political views."

STONE also said, according to the article, "when the dissemination of ideas is confused with conspiracy it is the duty of every American to refuse to be an informer."

Concerning the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, mentioned above, T-5, of known reliability, has advised that the organization was formed on January 2, 1952 and claimed that the ROSENBERGS were convicted because they were Jews and because of their political beliefs. The ROSENBERGS were executed at Ossining, New York, on June 19, 1953.

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NY 100-90640

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

INFORMANTS

IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED	FILE NO. WHERE LOCATED
T-1 Fisur of I. F. STONE	Dr. HAMLIN met STONE in Washington, D. C.	10/21/53	SA [redacted] [redacted]	100-90640- 189 p. 26
	Subject picked up brief case at Washington, D. C., Bus Depot	10/23/53	SA [redacted] [redacted]	WFO File 100-22286- Sub B 15
T-2 Mail Cover on I. F. STONE at Washington, D. C.	STONE received correspondence from 6804 Burns Street	4/5, 27; 5/2, 8/53	SA [redacted] [redacted]	100-90640- 172 p. 3
T-3 [redacted]	HELEN KLIEMAN con- tributed to Rosenberg Justice Committee	10/1/53	SA [redacted] [redacted]	100-107111- 1308 p. 29
NYC				
T-4 [redacted] Panel Source	STONE made speech 1/29/53	2/18/53	SA PATRICK J. MOYNIHAN	100-90640- 203
T-5 [redacted]	Documentation of the NCSJRC.			

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NY 100-90640

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (Con't)

REFERENCES: Washington Field letter to New York, 12/9/53.
Report of SA [REDACTED] 2/5/54, Washington Field.
Report of SA [REDACTED] 3/23/54, New York.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Form No. 1

WASHINGTON FIELD

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

REPORT MADE AT LOS ANGELES	DATE WHEN 5/20/54	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/10, 20, 24-26/54	REPORT MADE BY GJS
TITLE ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE, was.			CHARACTER OF CASE ESPIONAGE - R

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Information concerning JERRY HALL and DORIS GLICKMAN set out. Summary of subject's speech at the Embassy Auditorium, Los Angeles, April 22, 1954, reported.

- RUC -

DETAILS:

T-1, of known reliability, advised JOSEPH E. DUGAS, 314 South Olive Street, Los Angeles, who was previously in contact with the subject, is not identical with the JOSEPH DUGAS, who in 1935 resided at 1533 Connell Place, Belvedere, California.

Information was previously furnished concerning one

[redacted] The United States Attorney's Office, Los Angeles, California, had no information indicating that this [redacted] was identical with the

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[redacted] who was in contact with the subject in April and May of 1953. The United States Attorney's Office advised that [redacted]

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12/16/91

Classified by 9803 Add/Hcy/AB
Declassify on: OADR

FILE STAMPED

Date 7/10/95

Initials [signature]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>JFM</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
		100-22286-271	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		SEARCHED INDEXED	
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1 - San Francisco (100-34514) (Info.) (Registered)			
3 - Washington Field (100-22286) (Registered)			
2 - Los Angeles (65-5177)			

[REDACTED]

T-2, of known reliability, advised that the [REDACTED] concerning whom information has previously been reported is identical with [REDACTED] who resided at [REDACTED]

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As indicated previously, one JERRY HALL, 7618 LeBerthon, Tujunga, California, was in contact with the subject on June 22, 1953. One JERRY HALL, 2148 South Hobart, Los Angeles, California, was in contact with the subject on July 12, 1953. One J. HALL, 1908 West 21st Street, Los Angeles, was in contact with the subject on November 4, 1953.

Investigation at Los Angeles reflects that DUTEE GERALD HALL, JR., with alias Jerry Hall, presently resides at 1908 West 21st Street and previously resided at the other addresses mentioned.

T-3, of known reliability, advised that HALL in 1951 was a member of and active in the Civil Rights Congress, Phoenix, Arizona.

The Civil Rights Congress has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

T-4, of known reliability, advised that HALL, in the company of a Communist Party leader of Phoenix, Arizona, on December 21, 1952, circulated petitions in Phoenix in behalf of JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG.

T-5, of known reliability, advised that HALL attended several meetings of the Committee to Save the Rosenbergs.

According to this source, this committee was organized in Phoenix, Arizona, during the first part of 1953, by YETTA ABRAMSON LAND, a member of the Communist Party, and was thereafter controlled by LAND.

One ELLERY LENARD, 323 1/2 North Spaulding, Los Angeles, was in contact with the subject on September 10, 1953.

LA 65-5177

T-6, of known reliability, advised that ELLERY LENARD, 323 1/2 North Spaulding Avenue, Los Angeles, California, signed a petition for the filing of an amicus brief in the case of WESLEY ROBERT KELLS, a Negro who had been sentenced to death for an attack on a California prison guard. The petition had been circulated by the Civil Rights Congress.

DORIS GLICKMAN, 858 West Knoll Drive, Los Angeles, was in contact with the subject on July 11 and November 17, 1953.

T-7, of known reliability, [redacted] described [redacted]

T-8, of known reliability, advised that as of June, 1947, DORIS GLICKMAN was a member of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council of Hollywood.

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T-9, of known reliability, advised [redacted]
[redacted]

T-10, of known reliability, advised on February 20, 1951, that the Hollywood Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council, which is the Southern California Chapter of the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, was the most important Communist-controlled organization in the Hollywood professional field at that time and its policies paralleled the Communist Party line on all important issues. Membership in the Hollywood Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council, of itself, however, does not connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

T-11, of known reliability, advised that DORIS GLICKMAN, 5626 LaMirada Avenue, was a member of International Workers Order Lodge 449 in 1946.

The International Workers Order has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

LA 65-5177

The subject was a principal speaker at a meeting held at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles on April 22, 1954. His lecture was sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

T-10 advised that this committee was organized in Los Angeles in January of 1952 for the announced purpose of supporting a number of individuals from the medical and legal professions who had been subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

T-12, of known reliability, who was present at the Embassy Auditorium during the subject's speech, furnished the following summary of the subject's speech.

He accused the government of acting as a nursemaid to the people to make sure they did not get the wrong ideas. He stressed that DULLES and NIXON ascribed to the Communists some type of potency like that of the devil. STONE, himself, depicted the Communists in the United States as a handful of hounded people, who haven't been able to elect anybody.

In criticizing the government attack on Communists or alleged Communist teachers, STONE inferred that it would be impossible for teachers to subvert their pupils.

STONE criticized at length the Attorney General's attempt to obtain wire-tap legislation. In this criticism STONE stated that the FBI is too busy policing opinions to bother about crime. STONE indicated that present legislative tendencies were approaching police state methods.

He made critical remarks concerning tactics of Senate and House investigative committees, decried the McCarran-Walter Act and criticized attempts to outlaw the Communist Party.

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Information copies are being furnished to the New York and San Francisco Offices in accordance with Bureau instructions.

Photostatic copies of verbatim report of the subject's speech is being furnished under separate cover for the Bureau and Washington Field Office.

INFORMANTS

The following informants, with the exception of T-12, were used to document contacts of the subject and to document organizations.

T-1 Pretext telephone call made by SA [redacted] to JOSEPH E. DUGAS, 314 South Olive Street, May 24, 1954.

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T-2 Pretext telephone call made by SA [redacted] to the residence of LINUS PAULING, 3500 Fairview Street, Pasadena, May 26, 1954.

T-3

T-4

T-5

T-6

U. S. Post Office, Main Office, Washington, D. C.

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T-7

T-8

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T-9

Trash cover, offices of Hollywood Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council

T-10

T-11

b2
b7D

T-12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 65-5177

ADMINISTRATIVE (Cont.)

REFERENCE

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated at Washington,
D. C., April 7, 1954.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-37076)

June 3, 1954

SAC, WFO (100-22286)

RE: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STONE
ESPIONAGE - R
(OO - WFO)

Re WFO letter to New York, December 9, 1953, in which WFO requested file review on numerous persons in the New York Office area, and reports of SA [redacted] March 23, 1954, and May 28, 1954, at N. Y. b6 b7C

WFO can find no information in its files reflecting a New York file review on the following persons mentioned in report of December 9, 1953, who have corresponded with STONE on two or more occasions: ~~(S)~~

DANIEL ANSON
301 W 102nd St.
NYC

C. L. MEISEL
161 W. 75th St.
NYC

Dr. E. BENNISON
2124 Morningside Ave.,
Bridlyn

E. A. GERSHBERG
1554 Unionport Rd.
NY 62

GEORGE CORKILL (or CORKILL)
680 Adie (or Ader) Ave.
Bronx

L. A. SALMON & Bro.
216 Pearl St.,
NYC

GEORGE BOHAS
270 E. 2nd St.,
Bridlyn

GERTRUDE SAMUEL
19 W. 106th St.,
NYC

KAUFMAN
43 W 74th St.,
NYC

Miss FLORENCE SHULMAN
79 Lewis St.
NYC

J. LIST
645 Ocean Ave
Bridlyn

BENJAMIN TALBOT
1024 Walton Ave.
NY 52

DLW/mcd

2-02-100-22286 (100-20610)

REGISTERED MAIL

10/21/91

Classified by 9863 [redacted]
Declassify on: OADR

100-22286-272

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Director
Re: ISIDOR PRINSTEIN STONE

New York requested to review its files on these persons
in an attempt to bring this case to a logical conclusion.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/22/92 BY 903rdd/hcy

100-22286-273

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUN 17 1992	
F. B. I.	

1 A

(STONE) "I want to begin tonight by talking about the benefits of subversion. I don't know how many of you are familiar with the reports our Marshall Plan experts and our technical aid missions in the Middle East and India and Africa . . . to make so much more on their money by lending it out . . . because they can make so much more than any ordinary . . . either before a revolution. . . as many of you know in the . . . to prevent the unrest among the possessive classes because of the subversive education for free public schools and an extension of the franchise to everybody . . . whether or not they own property. In those days, you know, all those people with property were allowed to vote. And so our greatest American statesmen . . . in the great constitutional conventions of the . . . argued that if we permitted free public education and permitted everybody to vote, even if they had no property . . . the people will use their education and vote to vote away the right . . . fortunately they were unsuccessful . . . the radicals . . . and what else.

"The income tax, as many of you know, was established to fight . . . a 2 percent ungraduated, flat income tax was . . . as Congress and even today, as those of you who are admirers and fans of WESTBROOK PEGLER; I don't suppose there are many here, those of you who read him find he is still complaining and arguing by parallelism there is something wrong with income taxes because Karl Marx advocated income tax in the Communist Manifesto. . . in this country to fight the charge they interfere with freedom of enterprise and freedom of exploitation. All of these reports that the absence we complain about . . . were achieved in our own country because subversion was practiced successfully by generation after generation. The high standard of living, the healthy economy, the loyalty of our people have all . . . subversion to the rest . . . What we are doing today is setting up a barrier against the continuance of this kind of healthy protest . . . therefore, a copy of a liberal paper . . . and they have an editorial about their new law outlawing Communism and they said ordinarily many of us would not favor a law which would crack down on any minority, political or religious, but the Communists, said this liberal paper, are in a special category. They are committed to the overthrow of our system of free enterprise. A prison term of 20 years and a fine of \$20,000 is not too harsh, under the circumstances. Every effort is being made to prevent us from achieving the kind of reform the radicals have achieved in this country. Up until now the basis of American thinking has been that conditions have determined the stability of a country. If the economy weren't satisfactory and people got satisfaction from their aspirations you had a stable country and if they didn't, you'd ultimately run into revolution and great public . . . Declaration of Independence and we're

substituting for that kind of thinking what might be called the boogeyman theory of history and the nursemaid theory of science. We're substituting . . . revolutionary changes, unrest, instability, are brought about not by conditions but by boogeymen, supernatural forces, by diabolic influences of working some kind of magic and supernatural way . . . and to combat the Government has to act as kind of a nursemaid and make sure the people don't get the wrong ideas, read the wrong kind of books, see the wrong kind of movies and that they're carefully superintended and safeguarded from these dangers. This is the witch hunt and this is the effort of the witch hunt. Lot of people have said, why use the term witch hunt, because after all the days of Salem, there were not witches, whereas today everybody knows there are Communists and everybody knows there weren't witches. It would be much better to say everybody knows there were all women in the days of Salem and there are Communists today. The resemblance between the two periods and the reason the term witch hunt is justified is because just as supernatural and magical power was attributed to these poor old women, so is the supernatural and magical power attributed to the handful of Communists in our midst. If you read the speeches of DULLES and NIXON, and I'm glad to see so many of you avoided the temptation of going to that \$100.00 a plate dinner tonight for your fellow Californian, you'll see this attribution to Communists of some kind of potency, it's like the days of the inquisition, it's like the days when people believed in the power of the devil, in which it was almost as heretical to doubt the power of the devil as it was to doubt the power of God, Himself. And so today to doubt the power of the Communists, as a handful of hounded people, who haven't been able to elect anybody . . . all the cry is imaginary, to say that is to produce suspicion, as it was in the medieval times to question the power of the devil. The prevailing idea today, the idea that has been sold to us, is that . . . by the supernatural persons and somehow those men go around with a kind of . . . flit gun. They don't want you out, they creep up on you, they go squirt squirt and the first thing you know your head is full of subversive ideas and you go out and are apt to do all kind of dangerous things to the Government.

"Attorney General BROWNELL spoke of such influences in a speech last year in criticizing some teachers after it became clear that there was no evidence of any Communist or alleged Communist teachers had abused their powers in the court room to propagandize and . . . our dear little children. BROWNELL said many of these teachers were guilty of spreading in the classroom ideas too subtle to be detected. That's how . . . devilish these teachers are. They spread ideas too subtle to be detected in the classroom. Now some of you teachers know how hard it is to get into these little noggins the idea 2 and 2 are 4 and not 5 and the idea you can get over something too subtle to be detected in the classroom to stick in their little minds and turn them into Marxists and dialectical materialists overnight; if there are any Communist teachers they must be immensely flattered by this kind of a description of the magical potency of their teaching powers.

"All these witchhunt deals down in Washington represent ways to police ideas under the cover of prosecuting crime. Their efforts to get at ideas, to find that little man with a squirt gun to make it possible . . . It was very significant during the recent debate in the House on the wire tap

method that a Congressman who supported the measure and spoke of getting after 'Do gooders and traitors', the two go together. An equally dangerous traitor, equally dangerous, equally damaging, there couldn't have been a more revealing phrase or one that gave away the basic purposes of the witch hunts. Now all of these bills; the wire tapping, immunity bills, the bills to deprive so-called conspirators of their citizenship, to outlaw the Communist Party, the bills to amend the treason clause, the . . . bill to deny trade unions the right to pick their own leaders, to subject unions to the subversive activities control board. All these are a chance to find new ways to punish people for their ideas, their thoughts in their heads, to make people free to do the kind and useful and healthy jobs, the job of subversion, in our times as generations before us have done in the country and done in a way which made it so great. Just as the witch hunt has its . . . so it has its mythology and the Attorney General would never accept my description of these witch hunt bills. I want to give you an example of the type of mythology that the Attorney General spreads. He made a speech before the National Civil Liberties clearinghouse in Washington on March 18th, and in that speech he made a . . . wire tap and this is what he said (talking of Communists and conspirators) 'As a matter of necessity, they turn to the telephone to carry on their intrigue.' When they will next strike, who will be their victims. What valuable Government secrets will be the subject of a new . . . where are leading Communist conspirators being concealed. These are all matters that Communist agents talk about over telephones, knowing they cannot be confronted in a criminal proceeding to what they say.' This is the first time we have had a . . . as an Attorney General.

"You might think to hear the Attorney General and his speech that you could run a revolution safely and successfully by telephone since we have no wire tap legislation. You expect to have him explain at any time that the Russian revolution was brought about because the Czar forgot to have wire tapping equipment and Lenin got on the phone to Trotsky and said, Say, let's get at the army and overthrow the Czar, but do it by telephone so they can't get you. You get the picture from the Attorney General of people openly discussing crimes on the phone, of a guy picking up the phone and saying, Say, Joe, how about . . . atom bomb house . . . because there won't be many people around, and the FBI sits there frozen with horror to hear Joe explaining they're going to steal the atom bomb tomorrow night but they can't do a damn thing about it because of the lack of wire tap legislation. The fact is, there are only two crimes in which the telephone is used at all and very expensively; those two crimes are kidnapping and extortion and both crimes were omitted from the administration wire tap bill. The FBI is too busy to bother about crime and too busy policing opinions.

"ELIZABETH BENTLEY, when she first appeared in Washington, was asked by Senator FERGUSON whether she used the telephone and she said no, we were afraid to use the telephone. She said I only had one telephone call all the time I worked here and most of these people never knew my name or what I was doing and had no way to call me, anyway. We were afraid to use the telephone. Nevertheless, despite all the testimony and evidence, the papers go on talking as if the absence of wire tap evidence permits real crimes to be carried on and to be concealed. This victory of mythology over fact is an extraordinary fact in our time. Now the fact is, the wire tap bill, if passed, opens the way to punishing people for their opinions. It deals, in part, with concrete

crimes, espionage, sabotage, treason and to the extent it deals with real crimes as there will be no evidence obtained by wire tapping and nobody carries on these crimes by telephone. The same bill goes on to bring under these provisions other acts very vague, very loose, Seditious Conspiracy Statute, Smith Act, Foreign Agents Registration Act, under which the Government can collect an expression of opinion, chit chat on the telephone . . . radicals, subversives and weave it into a fabric of prosecution for conspiracy. The kind of rubbish, triviality, gossip, the kind of talk that has been used in the loyalty purge in Washington, can be used if the wire tap bill passes to convict people of crimes and that is its purpose and not to get after genuine crimes.

"Now many writers, in the past, have used the advice of writing about what Jesus would think of the Christian world if he came back today. We might as easily speculate on what the Pilgrim fathers or the founding fathers would think of America if they came back today. Some of the oldest traditions of this country, some of the most precious things they established, are being destroyed and trodden underfoot in this witch hunt. The immunity bill is an example. There's nothing in the Constitution, except the separation of the Church and State, that would have as much need until the Pilgrim fathers and that portion of the 5th Amendment which gives a man the privilege of not testifying against himself. Its history is closely bound up with the reasons why they fled from England to Holland to America. You'll read in the papers and your people tell you this immunity bill was never intended to enable people to protect their relatives and friends. That is quite untrue. It originated in a witch hunt much like the one today. It was religious, it is overt and . . . basic purposes were political. The fear of dissenters was a fear of political unrest and conspiracy. Queen Elizabeth established a court of high commission which placed dissenters and suspected dissenters under oath and forced them to tell of their . . . and those of their families and friends. It was to escape that kind of inquisition and the necessity to answer under oath informant questions that led the Pilgrim fathers to go to Holland and come to America.

"The privilege itself originated, as many of you know, before the Cromwell revolution in the activities of a very brave Englishman, JOHN , who later became famous. He was arrested on his return from Holland in 1639 and accused of having published radical documents and pamphlets in Rotterdam and helped smuggle them into England. He refused to take the oath, refused to tell where he got the pamphlets, who had part in it, was sent to jail and remained in jail for 2 years until the Cromwell revolution set him free. One of his first commands and one of his first successful acts was to write into English the privilege of not testifying against yourself.

"Circumstances and purpose of those nations was very much like those of the people today before the House Un-American Activities Committee, the McCarthy Committee, the Jenner Committee, to behave like honorable men and free Americans and refuse to inform on political activities of their friends, associates and relatives. We have several bills down in Washington which would amend the treason clause. This is another example of the kind of legislation that would horrify the founding fathers. As many of you know, one of the criticisms of the Constitution was the absence of the Bill of Rights and one of the arguments used by Madison and Hamilton in combating that was to point to

the treason clause of the Constitution as evidence of their genuine concern for civil liberties and the point they made was that . . . a word they used for constructive treasons, had been, from time immemorial, the way to punish a political opponent and to establish . . . and in writing the treason clause they hedged and carefully avowed the strictest kind of restrictions so it could only be used against treason in a time of war, a genuine act of treason and not against political opponents. Today we have bills in Washington, resolutions which would amend the treason clause and make any act taken in consort with a foreign government which would weaken the United States an act of treason. NORMAN THOMAS, testifying before the House Judiciary Committee just a few weeks ago, asked what would happen if he had lunch with the French ambassador and then went out and made a statement opposing the ETC. Would he be guilty of treason under this clause . . . the bill to outlaw the Communist . . . who has realized the right of revolution, the right to overthrow the Government . . . and has been for 150 years . . . the idea being if any Government transcended its lawful powers the citizens had the right to overthrow it and to have legislation made . . . revolutionary teachings . . . and members of revolutionary parties . . . completely un-American. The men who fought the War of 1812 would have been shocked by the new bill that EISENHOWER . . . so-called conspirators . . . We fought the War of 1812 to establish the idea that . . . a free man had the right to change his citizenship as he pleased and nobody had the right to change his citizenship or take it from him, nobody could take his country away from him and nobody could take away from him his right to give up his old country and pick a new one. It was the insistence of the English king . . . a man of the English realm without powers to secure citizenship, could take Americans of English origin off our ships and impress them into their Navy and provoke the War of 1812.

"We are adopting in this bill real police state methods, aiming to make native born Americans aliens in their own country and subject to all the terrible restrictions the McCarran-Walter Act is imposing on aliens and on naturalized aliens. The Butler Bill would subject the unions to subversive activities control board. It's even more . . . because what it says is this: That a union that has Communist officers cannot enjoy the privileges of collective bargaining and the converse of that is that labor union members cannot be trusted to elect their own officers. The state has to supervise the results of the ballot and if the officers chosen are regarded as subversive, then they're outlawed and the unions are outlawed and the union . . . their privileges . . . It certainly is far more important to police the ordinary ballot box and the ordinary elections than it is the elections of trade unions. If trade unionists don't have the freedom to pick their own officers, why should ordinary people be allowed to go to the ballot box without supervision and maybe in their . . . recklessness pick somebody who might be a Communist or a subversive or a radical of some kind. All the basic assumptions of free society are being under-ruled. All of this pertains to the very new . . . conditions but it is very old.

"I think it is very significant that the word subversive which is also largely in our contemporary vocabulary does not appear in the American Constitution or in American law from the very beginning of the Republic until 1950, when the McCarran, formerly the Mundt-Nixon Bill, the Internal Security Act, was passed. Although the valiant fathers went through the French

Revolution and the American Government itself had many revolutionary periods, periods of very serious world unrest, there has never been any legislation against so-called subversive ideas. It was always recognized that what appeared as subversive to one man might appear very constructive to another. The attitudes and standards we are adopting are very much those the world has tried and seen fail over and over again. I think it's a good idea to tell our friends about a very famous laboratory experiment carried out in the last century by two countries using two different methods of dealing with revolutionary unrest and revolutionary ideas.

"There was Country A, that operated very much as America is beginning to operate today. The secret police, like our own FBI, became more and more powerful. Teachers were placed under surveillance; students were watched; informers were everywhere; vigilance was exercised against dangerous ideas; people who seemed to be radicals or possible conspirators were tagged and black listed very early and denied positions in the Government; denied the right to . . . sent into exile and sometimes executed. Country B operated on quite different principles, the principles we used to operate on, principles that seemed very slipshod and happy go lucky. Country B, the greatest revolutionary of the century, although an alien and not a citizen and although a man who openly expressed his revolutionary views, was allowed to live, to enjoy asylum, study, to agitate, to form the first great international and to publish the Communist Manifesto and . . . We may ask our question: In which country did the revolution come first; in which country was there instability and disorder, in which country did the . . . It was Country A, where the secret police were ever present and vigilant and people were watched and all kinds of dangerous ideas were proscribed and radical associations were outlawed; it was that country in Czarist Russia where revolution came first. And . . . where Karl Marx and Engels worked and wrote and agitated and organized and did their work unmolested and wires were not tapped, were not shadowed by the police, no . . . activities committee called them up and put them under oath and asked what they had been given, that country is the country that showed the most amazing stability and political maturity and steadiness of any free country in the world today. Men tend to create exactly what they fear. If this thought control . . . this country, its people, a whole new generation grows up afraid to speak freely, then they will conspire, they will have the right to conspire and they will have a duty to conspire and they will work underground because a human being cannot be gagged and cannot be shut off and the false conspiracy they pursue . . . will become real conspiracy, the imaginary revolutionary threat they talked about . . . will become a real revolutionary threat.

"I think it is very characteristic to look in the Senate report of the Mundt-Nixon Bill that finally became the McCarran Act and you'll see a list of those countries in which the CP is outlawed and every one of those countries is a backward country in which Communists have become really powerful because the outlawing of the Communist has shut off discussion and agitation and for the kind of reform these countries need. Just the other day the newspapers carried a survey of Western Europe and the weakness of the Communist Party there and I wonder how many Americans asked themselves how is it that the Communist Party of Western Europe, which is so large and powerful compared to our tiny Communist Party, how is it these countries are not . . .

and Communist powers weaker, although they have no registration, no fingerprinting and no wire tapping and no bills outlawing the Communist Party and no Smith Act and no McCarran Act and no safe-guarding legislation, so-called, of this big . . . Now this drive is still unsuccessful, although there aren't very many others speaking out anymore. The . . . or the witch hunters have not yet succeeded for various reasons . . . In the past year a good many things have happened. As many of you know and for the first time made it possible for us to talk to our neighbors and our fellow union members about McCarthyism and about the witch hunts. Up until about last September, a very few people but intellectuals and teachers and a few radicals had been affected. But beginning in September, a series of events began to bring the meaning of McCarthyism and witch hunts to . . . an increasing number of people. The first of these was the J. . . . HISS affair, which for the first time made Protestants realize the menace of the new authoritarianism to free religion in this country, and the second was the Harry White affair. You . . . Harry White by Attorney General . . . dramatized for the Democrats they, and not a handful of Communists, were the ultimate charges of the Republicans. The shameful inflation of the number of people ousted by the Government as security reasons antagonized and alarmed and aroused several million public employees with real power in Congress and a real voice and the effect was visible there. For the first time Congressmen began to protest on the . . . of the witch hunt. The attack on . . . and MC CARTHY has brought the witch hunt to the Negroes who, up until then like the white people, had not been very much affected. And finally the hearing that began today in Washington is the latest episode in the battle that angered and mobilized the Army people and conservatives and made them realize what they were up against, so that while people still do not understand the fundamental issues, they are prepared with one hand to support repressed legislation and with the other hand criticize McCarthyism, still tremendous . . . millions of people who were utterly unaware of what was going on six months ago now realize something is wrong and we can talk to people, we can reach people and they are willing to listen and we have millions of new . . . When even a conservative as high placed as the President of our greatest bank, the Chase National Bank of . . . , is . . . by the Jenner Committee as a protector of Communists, the Wall Streeters and the . . . realized this is something that is reaching out into their own class and their own . . . hysteria and persecution cannot be kept within reasonable bounds, and in Congress itself . . . taken for a kind of resistance, not the kind of resistance we might like, but enough resistance nevertheless to stop a lot of this legislation, so it is very much worth your while . . . to do our bit to arouse people about this legislation because we do have allies, even though some of them are very strange allies.

"In the wire tap debate in the House last week, it was very interesting to see of how fearful Congressmen are of having their own wires tapped. This is a big factor . . . legislation. That unexpected liberal, MARTIN DIES, got up on the floor of the House and told how during the war an Attorney General, FRANCIS BIDDLE obviously, had been tapping his wire and put out a 100 page brochure on his private conversation to show he was a friend and ally of Hitler and DIES is afraid to have the new Attorney General do the kind of thing . . . and many voices were raised in fear of wire tapping. This

is the one form of witch hunt legislation Congressmen, themselves, are personally afraid of. I believe the bill is going to bog down in the Senate. While it passed the House, it passed over very encouraging circumstances. Twice the House was told that that sacred cow, J. EDGAR HOOVER, has said that he preferred no wire tapping bill to a bill which would require the FBI to get a court order before they could tap people's wires. Despite this ultimatum from the glorified spy chief of our free society, this highly publicized Dick Tracy, the majority of the House revolted against the leadership and insisted on writing into the bill that the FBI could not tap wires without going into court and getting a judicial order first. This week the Attorney General went before the Senate and pleaded for a bill to allow them to tap wires on their own responsibility without a court order.

"Another great liberal - we have some very odd allies these days - Senator MC CARMAN, is also afraid and has some very good reason, of having his wires tapped, is insisting on carrying the fight for a court order. Between the wishes of the FBI and the prevalent . . . of Congress, you may see the legislation bog down altogether.

"Now the same thing is true of the . . . bill, which would force a great many people to choose of becoming informers or going to jail for contempt, because the 5th Amendment privileges would be taken away from them and on a rather . . . promise of immunity it would not give them immunity from blacklisting and disgrace and even . . . prosecution people would be forced to testify about themselves and their friends. But MC CARMAN and that other great liberal, MC CARTHY, is opposed to the bill for fear the Attorney General, who would be the one to decide to grant immunity, would thus be given kind of a veto power over the witch hunt committees. In any case, MC CARTHY prefers the 5th Amendment and its easy rewards and easy score of 5th Amendment Communists, as he calls them, to . . . difficulty and trouble of taking people into court and prosecuting them and proving their guilt. The chances are the immunity bill between the opposition of the witch hunters and the opposition of what liberals there are left and the opposition . . . of conservatives, particularly from the South, that the immunity bill will also bog down.

"Now the treason provisions. We have a good fighting chance against them, because the Democrats must realize, must be made to realize, that this ugly . . . talk about 20 years of treason, a very curious kind of treason, incidentally. I think we ought to tell our friends that while the Republicans were talking about 20 years of treason, President EISENHOWER was sending an economic report to Congress in which he had a chapter called Basis for Confidence and it is a very good chapter, and the basis for confidence pointed to by the President was a very sound basis. The things he pointed to were the things achieved by these Democrats in their so-called 20 years of treason. EISENHOWER said we have old age pensions, support prices, social security, bank deposit insurance, unemployment insurance and a guarantee against depression. It is a very odd kind of treason that makes a country more stable and more secure. But if these treason amendments are passed and the witch hunts should speed up, the Republicans would have a means not merely to smear Democrats, but to actually send them to jail for treason. I think we ought to help and make the Democrats aware of what dynamite is in these amend-

ments.

"The bill to outlaw the Communist Party is very fundamental. There again we have a curious ally, because J. EDGAR HOOVER is opposed to the bill as he has been in the past years, probably because by now there are so many FBI men in the Communist party . . . to have it disrupted . . . to make other new contacts underground. The Attorney General is against outlawing it and so is HOOVER. But certainly the time when people are beginning to realize anybody can be called a Communist, not just a liberal or Democrat, but a conservative banker, a General, an Army man, even the head of the Chase National Bank, and people must realize the danger of a bill not only to outlaw the Communist Party, but thereafter make it possible to send to jail any person suspected of being secretly a Communist, and the labor movement, despite its . . . and its lack of militancy, has become aware of the danger of the Butler Bill, which would subject trade unions in the subversive activities control board and the proposal by the Attorney General to enable employers to discharge suspected subversives. Labor . . . and security as it is and . . . as it is beginning to realize this type of legislation, ostensibly named as Communist and Communist union, can be used very easily against any militant or progressive and in fact any genuine trade unionist. The CIO and the AFL have taken a position against the bill and are beginning to translate that position into active opposition.

"We're living in a very dreadful night mare called . . . in which everything is reversed. It is a nightmare in which the crooks chase the cops. If there is some dangerous kind of subversion in this country undermining its very foundations, those subverts and that subversion is the work of people like MC CARRAN and MC CARTHY and JENNER and VELDE and their colleagues and they are . . . If there is an evil conspiracy, they are the conspirators. It's their . . . that a handful of hounded and helpless radicals . . . very little voice and no power to elect their dog-catcher should be hounded as conspirators, when Washington is full of conspirators against the United States . . . China lobby senators connive and conspire to get us into war, connive and conspire to gag the peace movement, to make people afraid to talk for peace, when the United States Chamber of Commerce which had a big hand in running this thought control drive, and people like NIXON and MUNDT and MC CARRAN can plan and plot and conspire behind the scenes to wage a terror . . . and make them afraid to exercise their democratic liberties, these conspirators go . . . nobody investigated them, nobody denounces them, nobody questions them and if there is betrayal, betrayal is not ours; betrayal is the betrayal of . . . conservatives and those respectables who have such a stake in this country and who boast so much of their ancestry and their . . . of people like SALTONSTALL, who goes back to the days of the Pilgrims and has social position and money and conservatism and impregnability and respectability and are too yellow to fight MC CARTHY in defense of their country and their . . . and their background and people like BROWNELL, who is an able lawyer and conservative . . . witch hunt . . . and propaganda to help his friends. These are the real betrayers of America. We have become such a . . . and sometimes we are influenced by what our enemies say about us. We begin to think maybe we are disloyal, maybe there is something wrong with us, just as you would feel in Germany under the impact of Hitler's propaganda. I think it is very important for us to lift our heads and be proud and to . . . and realize the whole future of America depends upon

us. When people talk about the glory - I heard a man talk at a meeting the other day about the inspiration he drew from his ancestors at what happened at Valley Forge. We can draw inspiration from it, too, especially from the fact that a handful of men have . . . and struggled a minority, a great majority of people were down in Philadelphia making . . . of the Tories and British and . . . a ball for the British soldiers and . . . just as it is cowardly . . . in the days when a few men wiped out compromise with slavery and were hounded from their position. While we're outnumbered and seem so few, this is not very different from the great struggles of the past. It is something for us to realize within ourselves that we, whether we come from Mayflower stock or came over just yesterday, we, in the true sense, are the real Americans at this time and we stand in the line of succession from Jefferson and all the things that have made this country great in the past have made it . . . inspiration and a growing for all mankind . . . depends upon us that our . . . radicals and . . . pinks and whatever you may call it, we are the ones fighting to save the real America and . . . future depends and I still hope that out of this nucleus of resistance the time may yet come, because it has already begun, when the tide will turn and people will wake up . . . from this madness and return to true Americans."

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-27078)

* June 1, 1954

SAC, LOS ANGELES (65-5177)

ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE, was.
ESPIONAGE - R
(OO: Washington Field)

Rerep of SA [redacted] dated May 28,
1954, at Los Angeles.

There are enclosed photostatic copies of subject's
speech delivered at the Embassy Auditorium, Los Angeles,
April 22, 1954, as furnished to the Los Angeles Office by
[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 11-19-81 BY SP-8 BTJ/foab
2-11-92 98021 daf/way #318309

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Encs.

CC: 2 - Washington Field (Registered)(Encs.)

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Date 7/10/85
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100-22286-270

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

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Subj: Sidor Fairstone Stone

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FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Sidor Stone

65-5044-205 p.3

65-5366-26 p.4

Sidor, F. Stone

100-16597-5309 p.7

same 65-5044-220 p.4

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Laidor Fustina Stone

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R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial WCH

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Laidor F. Stone
Ann. 105-5044-532

Laidor F. Stone
105-4905-46 p. 3

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD (100-22286)

DATE: June 4, 1954

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (65-3330)

SUBJECT: ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE
ESPIONAGE - R
(WFO-00)REGISTERED

Reurlet 5/28/54.

Through inadvertence, the result of the indices search of this office was furnished to the New York Office by letter dated 12/28/53 instead of to your office.

There is no information in the Seattle files which could be identified with R. P. JOHNSON, 507 South "G", Tacoma, Washington, who corresponded with the subject during November 1953. RUC.

WMF:mac

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/24/92 BY 9803rd/ctj

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100-22286-275
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JUN 8 1954

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

WASHINGTON FIELD

FILE NO. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORT MADE AT SAN FRANCISCO	DATE WHEN MADE JUN 7 1954	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 4/19, 20, 21, 23, 26; 5/7, 18; 6/1, 2/54	REPORT MADE BY af
TITLE ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE, Was			CHARACTER OF CASE ESPIONAGE - R

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

10/22/91
Classified by 9803 RDD/tcy/AB
Declassify on: OADR

Subject spoke in San Francisco on 4/23/54 under the auspice of the Californians for the Bill of Rights, an organization designed to oppose loyalty oaths, investigations, and to appeal "test oath" legislation. STONE reportedly spoke of the "Witch Hunt" in Washington and condemned the use of Russian Police methods in this country.

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DETAILS:

T-1, of known reliability, on April 21, 1954 made available a leaflet reflecting that I. F. STONE would speak on April 23, 1954 at California Hall, San Francisco. STONE was identified as formerly with New York Compass and currently publishing "I. F. STONE's Weekly", from Washington D. C.. The leaflet stated that STONE's report from the Capitol, would include: Wire tapping, The Butler Bill, proposals to destroy the Fifth Amendment, and the New Treason

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100-22286-276

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
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SF 100-34514

Amendment plus the latest information on McCARTHY's relations with the White House and Armed Services". The announcement of the meeting was carried under the letterhead of Californians for the Bill of Rights.

T-1 advised that Californians for the Bill of Rights is an organization designed for the purpose of defeating loyalty oaths and investigations and to appeal "test oath" legislation.

The Daily People's World, West Coast Communist Newspaper, on 4/17/53 reported the formulation of a "new organization, Californians for the Bill of Rights an outgrowth of the Federation for the repeal of the Levering Act, a broad group of educators, professionals, and public employees who led the campaign against "loyalty" oaths in the last election.

San Francisco T-2, of known reliability, reported that the public meeting was held on 4/23/54 at California Hall, Polk and Turk Street, San Francisco, California, featuring I. F. STONE from Washington D. C. According to T-2 STONE talked intellectually about the "Witch Hunt" in Washington and condemned the use of Russian Police methods in this country.

Informant advised that STONE was challenged by several in the audience about that attitude and STONE went on to say VISHINSKY once remarked to the effect that "This is against human decency" and so forth on the same thing, he was talking about which was then being flagrantly practiced and condoned in Russia. STONE advised that what is good for us (US) should be good for the other fellow and that in the field of civil liberties we should practice what we preach and expect of the other fellow.

San Francisco T-3, of known reliability, advised that he attended a meeting at which STONE spoke on April 23, 1954 and that in substance STONE stated that the time has come for the McCARTHY Committee and all other committees to "tuck their tails and run". These committees, according to STONE, used nothing

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SF 100-34514

but stool pigeons telling a pack of lies and serving no purpose. He stated that even though the committee called "us" Reds, we don't care and that what we need is more people who will work for and defend Californians Bill of Rights. He stated that "we" will fight any committee that comes to this area and will run them out just as we did the Velde Committee. According to informant, STONE said that he was sure there were some FBI men in the house and suggested that when the time came for collection they be asked for a donation.

San Francisco T-4, of known reliability, 4/28/54 advised that he had attended a meeting sponsored by the Californians for the Bill of Rights on 4/23/54 at California Hall, Polk and Turk Street and reported the following information concerning STONE's talk:

STONE's general theme according to T-4 was the "Witch Hunt" which is being carried on by Senator McCARTHY and others. STONE emphasized that the present day efforts to flush out Communists makes about as much sense as the Salem Trials for witches, that the pilgrim fathers could not prove that a poor 30 year old woman was a witch, but, nevertheless, she was burned at the stake, in much the same way as we today are persecuting people for being suspect of being Communists.

He also stated that the American Revolution was fought to secure rights for the individual that are now being jeopardized by legislative efforts to pass bills such as the Immunity Act, Treason Act, Wire Tapping and so forth, which he stated is subversive in that it is undermining the rights and privileges of the American people.

STONE stated that during the period of the American Revolution, free thinking people at that time could be considered subversive in that they were a minority who were trying to overthrow the government of that period and finally succeeded. According to STONE it takes just a few right thinking, clear thinking individuals such as were present at the meeting to start reforms, which do not necessarily have to result in bloody revolution. He stated it is ridiculous to think that

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SF 100-34514

Communists are attempting to overthrow the government. If they intended to do anything like that in the United States that it would be in a counter-revolutionary form and not as a revolution.

The informant advised that STONE stated "the FBI, Headed by J. EDGAR HOOVER, a glorified Dick Tracy" is in effect our secret police and there is the same danger in their methods of operations as there is in the Soviet Secret Police and at the rate they (FBI) are moving we will soon be behind an Iron Curtain in the United States.

According to informant, STONE stated that he was quite sure the FBI had a large representation at that meeting and pointed out how foolish it was, in that they had nothing to hide, were not subversive, and in fact it was the FBI who were the subversive.

T-4 further advised that STONE attempted to be humorous concerning the efforts of McCARTHY, wire tapping, Immunity and so forth. He stated that McCARTHY surrounded himself with Jews, such as COHN, and SCHINE so that he could not be accused of "Jew baiting" as was HITLER, which he stated was a very smart idea.

Informant advised that STONE stated there is no danger from the Communist Party in the United State. They are not attempting to overthrow the Government and are trying to uphold the rights of citizens.

He stated that they are not a strong party in the sense that the Democrat or Republican party is. In fact, Communists such as McCARTHY is trying to flush out don't even exist.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Informant copies are being furnished Washington Field Office and Los Angeles, according to Bureau instructions.

Identify of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to Whom Furnished	File Number Where Located
SF T-1 is [redacted] (X)	4/21/54	5/6/54	SA [redacted]	100-34514-17
T-2 is [redacted]	4/23/54	5/7/54	SA [redacted]	[redacted]
T-3 is [redacted] (X)	4/23/54	4/26/54	SA [redacted]	[redacted] (X)
T-4 is [redacted]	4/23/54	4/28/54	SA [redacted]	[redacted]

REFERENCE

Washington Field airtel to Bureau dated 4/14/54.

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FD-72
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FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

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REPORT MADE AT WASHINGTON, D. C.	DATE WHEN MADE JUN 17 1954	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 3/26;4/1;2,20, 21,22,27;5/3,5, 14,27,28;6/2/54	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div> MPW
TITLE ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE, was.			CHARACTER OF CASE ESPIONAGE - R

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

STONE continues to edit and publish I. F. STONE's Weekly in which he is generally critical of the President, FBI, Congress, Senator McCARTHY and foreign policy of the Administration. Synopsis of articles appearing in Weekly set out. Subject delivered speeches in Chicago on February 29, 1954; Newark, N. J. on March 5, 1954; Washington, D. C. on March 27, 1954 and San Francisco on April 23, 1954. Tenor of speeches similar to subject's writings.

- P -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY

In the March 29, 1954 issue, STONE in the opening article attacked the Administration and the foreign policy of the United States, saying:

"The United States is the leader, organizer, and paymaster of a huge coalition in a world split in two. It holds in its hands the most terrible instrument of destruction ever

*Carroll's memo
9/20/54 - (enc)*

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developed by the mind of man and it claims the right to use these for 'instant retaliation' under certain circumstances, yet those hands show themselves increasingly shaky and incompetent, the will behind them is flabby and at the mercy of emotional tides which make sober reasoning ever more difficult."

Subject complained that this country insists that in some circumstances it must have the right to unleash hell on earth without consulting its own people or others; and it feels it has the right to judge quickly and perhaps fatally obscure questions of aggression on some distant border.

He said: "On every hand there is evidence of terror in American life, freezing into fearful inaction all those on whom an alternative policy might be based. Though there is instinctive resistance to intervention in Indo-China, there is no peace movement, there are no peace meetings. The undertow toward a new intervention grows more powerful despite the President. A new situation is building up in which inept men may be pushed by some unexpected turn of events into terrible decisions in sheer funk."

He added in conclusion: ".....no one says, 'Look, the situation is so terrible we've simply got to live in peace with the Russians.' No one talks that way anymore, at least no one who can reach more than a handful of people. The country is afraid to talk of peace. It is being conditioned for war, and war will engulf all mankind.

"This atmosphere, this growing impotence in Washington, is one no army of intervention could cure, but it is a far greater threat to world peace and security than the petty conflicts in Indo-China or Korea."

JENNINGS PERRY made a reappearance as a writer in the Weekly this issue when he reported from New Orleans on the hearings of the subcommittee of the Senate Internal Security Committee conducted by Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi. PERRY was critical of the witnesses (ex-Communists) PAUL CROUCH and JOHN BUTLER. PERRY reconstructed the scene at the hearing when CLIFFORD DURR, former member of the Federal Communications Commission threatened to kill PAUL CROUCH, the ex-Communist. PERRY implied the purpose of the hearing was political in nature as Senator EASTLAND is up for reelection this year.

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Final article of the issue is by STONE and is ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ titled: "MORE EVIDENCE OF LIAISON BETWEEN THE FBI AND THE WITCH HUNT." STONE said the evidence of liaison between the FBI and the witch hunters is accumulating and he set out the statement of Senator KARL MUNDT of South Dakota, reportedly made in a speech given in Salt Lake City, Utah in November 1953. He quoted MUNDT as saying, "...these probes are a valuable supplement to the investigative work of the FBI. The FBI may compile much evidence on Communist infiltration, but not enough to justify indictments. Often in such cases, the FBI will tip off a Congressional Committee as to a situation where it is convinced American security is endangered. The committee's inquiry makes it possible to bring the case into the open and, with the suspected Communist spy usually taking refuge in the Fifth Amendment's protection against incriminating himself, it is possible to eliminate that particular threat." STONE continued: "Here we have MUNDT saying that when the FBI cannot get an indictment because it has insufficient evidence, it 'often in such cases' tips off a Congressional committee. Thus the FBI circumvents the grand jury system, and destroys in the public pillory those whom it cannot fairly indict and convict. They lost jobs and reputation and are as effectively destroyed as if they had been sent to jail. This is obviously what happened with those whom the FBI was unable to indict with the testimony of ELIZABETH BENTLEY."

"MUNDT made quite a revelation in that Salt Lake City speech but so powerful is the FBI that even men and papers fighting McCARTHY are afraid to look at the full implications. Senator FULBRIGHT himself, in giving this out last week to a largely indifferent press, said that he was 'concerned that the FBI, as our foremost safeguard against subversive activities, not be destroyed by the misuse of its confidential material.' This is putting it in reverse. The misuse is the misuse of Congressional investigating committees by the FBI to terrorize all whom the secret police regard with disfavor or suspicion. But how get editors and judges to look at this gangrenous growth on a free society when they themselves have grown afraid of this same power, and of the dirt which may be hidden in its swollen files?"

The opening article in the April 5, 1954 issue is devoted to criticism of Secretary of State DULLES' position in regard to Indo-China. STONE stated that the tide in the United States is running toward war and fascism, and added "A great nation is being driven toward catastrophe like a herd of sheep,

moved onward and held together by the nips and growls of a few fierce dogs. A free people has rarely exercised less control over its own destiny."

Another article devoted to wire-tapping legislation was the subject of the second article in this issue. STONE pointed out that some members of Congress desire that wire-tapping be authorized only after the issuance of a permit by a U. S. Judge. He said that Attorney General BROWNELL and FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER were opposed to this restriction and that they desired only that the Attorney General's permission be necessary to tap wires in security cases.

STONE stated also that an amendment to the treason clause of the Constitution had been introduced before a sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee which had been referred to the Department of Defense and Justice for an advisory opinion. STONE indicated the amendment would make it treason to collaborate with any agent or adherent of a foreign nation in working for the overthrow or weakening of the Government of the United States whether or not by force or violence.

He continued that in the advisory opinions the Defense Department was opposed to the amendment and pointed out that 'experience had shown that an extremely broad power to punish for treason might become an instrument of oppression.' According to STONE, the Defense Department and the Justice Department indicated it might be possible to obtain the objectives of the amendment through the ordinary legislative process.

STONE added a note that on April 22 he would speak in Los Angeles under the auspices of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom and on April 23 he is to speak in San Francisco under the auspices of the Californians for the Bill of Rights. The subject of his talks will be a general report on McCarthyism and the witch hunt.

In the opening article in the issue of April 12, 1954, STONE stated the drift toward war is taking on momentum, and he cited Secretary of State DULLES' efforts to build up support for unilateral intervention in Indo-China if necessary. STONE opined that the choice on this matter appears to be one between another repetition of the Korean struggle or retaliation against China which he regards as the open door to World War III. He complained against the activities of Senator

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McCARTHY and said the gravity of the international situation is matched by that of the domestic, and speaking of the TV program by McCARTHY said "No one...could fail to be struck by the contrast between the well-meaning but intellectually feeble weakling who is President and the evil genius who is struggling to wrest from him control of the party and the country. The synthetic soft-soap of Mr. EISENHOWER's well-drilled recitation is a poor substitute for leadership."

Page 2 and 3 of the issue were devoted to an ironical and humorous treatment of Congressional hearings concerning Communism. He jested at the comments of Senator McCARRAN of Nevada, the engulfing of the GOP by Marxism as reflected in the voting on public housing, and the testimony of Congressman McCORMACK of Massachusetts and NORMAN THOMAS before the House Judiciary Committee regarding outlawing the Communist Party, which testimony he indicated left the Committee confused.

In addition STONE condemned the conduct of STEPHEN MITCHELL, Democratic National Chairman who was declining to support Representative ROBERT L. CONDON, a California Democrat, on the basis of charges against the loyalty of CONDON. STONE inquires: "Is the orbit of the loyalty purge to extend into Congress? Is the voter's choice to be subject to the veto of FBI Investigations and clearance?"

Subject commented on the BEN GOLD trial for his conviction of signing a non-Communist oath under the TAFT-HARTLEY law falsely. STONE said the FBI questioned three jurors during the trial without the knowledge of the defense. He said: "It is difficult enough for a radical to get a fair trial in the District of Columbia before a jury on which Government employees serve. It will become impossible if the Department of Justice and the FBI are encouraged by the complaisance of the courts to go around interrogating jurors on one excuse or another while they are trying a case."

The lead article in the April 19, 1954 issue of the Weekly deals with the case of Dr. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER. STONE spoke of the pathological state of our politics and stated the United States is in the grip of panicky fears which make reasonable policies unlikely. He said that behind the attack "on the scientist who did more than any other one man to develop the Atom Bomb may be described two forces. One, in which the FBI and McCARTHY bulk large, is driving toward an

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American Fascism. The other stems from the Air Force, and particularly from the Strategic Air Command, with its apocalyptic conception of a new war." He pointed out that the issued are set out in Dr. OPPENHEIMER's article which appeared in Foreign Affairs for July 1953, and an article appearing in Fortune magazine in the spring of 1953 attacking OPPENHEIMER's approach to the problem of United States Military strategy. STONE contends the article in Fortune was of Air Force inspiration.

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STONE said "The issue is whether national resources are to be diverted from the super-Wagnerian glamor of the overwhelming air attack to the construction of defenses against a similar attack from an enemy." Basically, the subject contends, the problem is an issue of 'defense' vs. 'massive retaliation' and that the Strategic Air Command is opposed to OPPENHEIMER, and vice-versa on this matter and the matter should be resolved by means other than a 'loyalty' proceeding against OPPENHEIMER.

With regard to pressing charges against OPPENHEIMER at this time, STONE explains the FBI had no responsibility for Atomic Security until 1947 at which time the first order of business for Director J. EDGAR HOOVER was the loyalty of OPPENHEIMER which was set out in a report delivered to the Atomic Energy Commission in March 1947 which was passed on by the Commission, the AEC Congressional Committee and President TRUMAN, and support was given to OPPENHEIMER. According to STONE the recent charges against OPPENHEIMER stem from President EISENHOWER's desire to avoid being in a position which might indicate he was ignoring the FBI information. EISENHOWER, according to the subject, wants to avoid the embarrassment former President TRUMAN experienced on the HARRY DEXTER WHITE case. He concludes the article: "So the decision was made to initiate a case more explosive even than that of HISS. Dr. OPPENHEIMER has far more powerful friends; to destroy him would damage the reputation of many others, including General GROVES, NIXON and the members of the Joint Congressional Committee, perhaps of EISENHOWER himself. The outcome is far from certain. The battle joined is a battle for the future of America. The ruin of Dr. OPPENHEIMER would intensify political paranoia and increase the power of those like McCARTHY who live upon it. His vindication would be a setback from which they might not recover."

In a second article, the subject discussed statements by Attorney General BROWNELL in which BROWNELL opposed legislation which would outlaw the Communist Party. He

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facetiously remarked that no lawyer hired by the Communist Party could have argued more ably the dubious constitutionality of any measure to outlaw the Communist Party, and the complications it would create for the Government. STONE, who also is opposed to outlawing the CP, maintains the Government takes its stand because it feels the same end might be achieved by the use of the McCARRAN Act, and in addition, the Government thus avoids the risk of having the legislation outlawing the CP declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

In the final article in the issue, JENNINGS PERRY, a frequent contributor to the Weekly, discussed the appointment of RAY JENKINS of Tennessee as Chief Counsel for the McCARTHY-Army hearings in Washington. PERRY indicated McCARTHY would not suffer as long as he didn't attack JENKINS and as long as 51% of the headlines were given to JENKINS. He intimated that JENKINS was interested in this assignment only as a vehicle which would enable him to charge higher fees in the cases he subsequently tries.

The April 26, 1954 leading article is devoted to a commentary on the opening of the Geneva Conference where STONE said decisions were to be made in complete disregard for the wishes of their people. He said that Vice-President NIXON's speech to the newspaper editors made it clear that the administration is indifferent to what the American people want, and that NIXON's comment that the United States with or without the support of public opinion would send troops to Indo-China if the situation required it is a new variant of 'the public be damned.'

A discussion of the debate in the House of Representatives on the wire-tapping legislation appeared in this issue. STONE said the bill which requires a court order for wiretapping was passed by the House, but that the vote was a blow to the prestige of J. EDGAR HOOVER, who, he reported, would rather have no legislation at all than that requiring a court order. He quoted, too, from the speeches of two ex-FBI Agents (DODD, Democrat of Connecticut, and McCULLOCH, Republican of Ohio) who expressed concern over passage of loosely controlled wiretap legislation.

In this issue, the subject touched briefly on other matters including the McCARTHY hearing headlines; the speech by Bishop SHEIL attacking McCARTHY; settlement of the dispute

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between Israel and its Arab neighbors; the Army loyalty form wherein a report must be made to a commanding officer if someone is retained in the service whose retention is not in the national interest; and OWEN LATTIMORE and perjury prosecutions.

STONE in the May 3, 1954 issue of the Weekly discussed the United States attitude on Indo-China. He likened the United States policy to a new slant on TEDDY ROOSEVELT's maxim about walking softly but carrying a big stick. STONE said the United States talked big, and unsheathed an undersized twig. Subject attributed this country's reversal at the Geneva Conference to a number of factors, among which were the unsuccessful efforts by Secretary of State DULLES and Admiral RADFORD to sell two forms of intervention to Congressional leaders -- 1. limited intervention by airpower from United States carriers in Indo-China waters, and 2, a Congressional resolution giving the President a blank check in advance to intervene in Indo-China as he saw fit. STONE said: "DULLES and NIXON set out to prepare the public mind for war, but only succeeded in waking the popular desire for peace. There was a flood of mail against intervention and as we went to press the House leadership was trying hard to beat down an appropriation rider by Congressman COUDERT (Republican, New York) forbidding the President to send troops abroad without Congressional approval. The China Lobby crowd was finding few takers for its line that no American boys would be needed since we could 'release the armed forces of the free nations of Asia' (JENNER), placing at our service 'the fourth and fifth largest armies on earth, the Nationalist Chinese and the South Koreans' (BRIDGES to the Daughters of the American Revolution), who would do the fighting for us 'more than 1,100,000 strong' (KNOWLAND). No doubt the possibility of an alliance with CHIANG and RHEE played its part in the next big failure of the DULLES-RADFORD team--the inability to sell 'united action' in London and Paris."

He concluded the article with: "Except for RADFORD, the Chiefs of Staff have been opposed to intervention, though ready to be 'united' if DULLES and RADFORD could find other nations to supply the 'action.' In this they reflect the national mood; we have no objections to policing the world so long as it can be done by pushbutton. We are ready to fight Communism everywhere, if others will carry the guns, and especially if only Asians (whom we regard as bargain basement warriors) will fight Asians. So with the backdown at Geneva, peace by some miracle has a fighting chance."

On page 2 of the issue, STONE introduced the article

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by stating that Dr. EDWARD A. BARSKY, a noted New York surgeon, and former chairman of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee had appealed to the Supreme Court against a six months suspension from the practice of medicine imposed upon him by the New York Board of Regents. He noted the penalty was the result of BARSKY's conviction (and 6 months sentence) for contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1946 when he refused to turn over the records of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. The Supreme Court, 6-3, upheld the suspension. STONE pointed out that because of the importance of the case and because even the New York Times did not give it text, he was reprinting the heart of the separate dissents by Justices FRANKFURTER and BLACK and the text of the dissent by Justice DOUGLAS, which STONE believed would prove historic. Thereafter, he printed the dissenting opinions (portions) in the case of BARSKY v. Regents.

Page 3 of this issue is devoted to the principal features of an address given by Senator ED JOHNSON (Democrat, Colorado) on the Senate floor on April 26, 1954 with regard to the Indo-China war. STONE described the speech as the first forthright anti-war speech in the Senate during the crisis and he urged those who want peace to arm themselves with copies of the speech for their friends. The quoted speech was one in opposition to intervention by the United States in Indo-China.

JENNINGS PERRY, frequent contributor to the Weekly, wrote the final article in the issue and it concerned the Army-McCarthy hearings. He called the hearings a 'diversion,' but of value because they would permit all to objectively view McCARTHYISM. He regretted that it took a big and powerful group such as the Army to stand up against McCARTHY, and stated it was a pity that the rally could not have come where only the morale, the good name, the civil rights of some one American--college professor, scientist, government clerk, or simple 'leftist' housewife--was at stake.

On May 10, 1954, in the opening article in the Weekly Stone wrote concerning the war plans of CHIANG KAI-SHEK. STONE related that CHIANG was interested in intervention in Indo-China because it would give him a bridgehead on the mainland of Asia (in northern Indo-China) from which he could penetrate the nearby Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Kwangsi. STONE said this tactic would be an attempt to seal off the Chinese border, and would result in bringing the Chinese Communists into the war. STONE said the French and British fear this would be the beginning of World War III---

and he added this is what CHIANG wants in order to restore him to power. STONE added that this plan is making headway in Washington despite its obvious dangers. He concluded the article with the following: "The liberals who write lugubriously of DULLES's defeat at Geneva as some kind of national catastrophe ought to have their noggins examined. The revolt against the reckless and faltering leadership of Washington is the one hope not only of world peace but, if we must use invidious phrases, of 'halting the march of Communism in Asia.' For it is only by recognizing Communist China and ending the hopeless attempt to squelch native aspiration in French Indo-China that stability may be restored and a firm line drawn, not for war but for peace and co-existence. It is only on such a basis that the great Asian neutrals may be led to underwrite and stabilize a settlement. This is London's perspective, but here the liberals quail at uttering such suspect words as 'compromise,' 'negotiation,' 'coexistence,' and 'peace.' With few exceptions, as the hasty defeat of the COUDERT amendment last week showed, only rightists dare to speak up for military non-involvement and diplomatic sobriety."

Page 2 of this issue was devoted to a biography of HO CHI MINH, Communist leader of the Viet Minh forces in Indo-China. STONE said at the Library of Congress he came across a mimeographed State Department intelligence report on Indo-China, dated October 25, 1945, declassified in 1947. In introducing the article, subject said: "We reprint major portions for the light it throws on the remarkable career of HO CHI MINH and for its tantalizing glimpse of the cooperation between HO and CHENNAULT in rescuing American fliers during the war, and between HO and an unidentified American group against the Japanese. The report refers to him under his original name, NGUYEN-AI-QUOC, 'now known as HO-CHI-MINH.'"

Other sundry topics were discussed by STONE and included such matters as the Attorney General's subversive organization list; efforts to have the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade listed as a Communist front under the Internal Security Act of 1950 (STONE said: "This hounded mutual aid organization representing that brave handful of men who fought Fascism in Spain will some day again be accorded the respect it deserves!"); urging that J. EDGAR HOOVER be required to testify in the McCARTHY-Army hearings, (STONE said: "It is a pity there is no one on the Senate Committee (or anywhere else in Washington) with the nerve to question HOOVER about the leak to McCARTHY of FBI material damaging to the Army."); urging readers to report the public reaction in their areas

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concerning the TV hearings between McCARTHY and the Army; and defeat of the Coudert amendment in the House which would have forbade the President to use American troops abroad without a vote of Congress.

Two pages of the May 17, 1954 issue of the Weekly are devoted to the Indo-China situation and interview of Secretary DULLES at a press conference. STONE was of the opinion that the possibility of United States intervention in Indo-China has not passed. He added that the "high purpose" of the United States on this matter is "independence" for Indo-China, but STONE, based upon questions he directed to DULLES at the press conference regards this as ridiculous.

The first question STONE asked Secretary DULLES was whether he would favor genuinely free elections in Indo-China, to which Mr. DULLES was reported to have stated that he would where the electorate would be adequately informed as to the issues, and further that in a country which is politically immature and the scene of a civil war, he doubted whether conditions would be conducive to an expression of the will of the people. STONE interpreted this to mean DULLES' answer to his question was "No," and he regards this as puzzling because "If those in rebel-held territories are victims of Communist oppression, as we insist they are, then surely they would vote against HO in a genuinely free election. If the rest are menaced by aggression, as we insist they are, then they would surely vote against their aggressors in a genuinely free election."

STONE said his second question to the Secretary regarded the United States opposition to any Communist advance in Southeast Asia 'by whatever means' achieved, so he asked what would be the Secretary's attitude toward the victory of HO or a coalition in a free election. Would he recognize such a government? STONE said that DULLES ducked the question the first time but when pressed again replied that he had just said he didn't think present conditions conducive to a free election there, and he didn't care to answer the hypothetical situation that might result if they did have elections. According to STONE this indicates DULLES is not at all sure the rebels would lose in a free election.

STONE's third question was "if you regard the Indo-Chinese people as too immature politically for free elections, do you regard them as politically mature enough for independence at this time? To this, according to his report, DULLES denied

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saying they were too immature for free elections, but asserted he had said that conditions were not conducive to them at this time.

The final question put to the Secretary at this press conference by STONE was "do you favor independence for Indo-China at this time?" STONE advised DULLES' answer was in effect "No;" however, he said the Secretary stated that Indo-China's complete independence should be assured them under times and conditions so that they will be actually able to exercise and enjoy independence.

From his questioning, STONE concludes: "Mr. DULLES is against independence for Indo-China or free elections there until he feels sure its people can be counted for 'the free world.'"

The second page of this issue discusses the attitude of the Democrats in Congress on foreign policy. He said Democratic cratory made clear (1) that the Democrats are not a peace party, (2) that they have no real foreign policy, and (3) that they are ready and eager to associate themselves with EISENHOWER's foreign policy. He quoted various Democratic members of Congress in statements thereafter, and launched a criticism of bipartisanship which he said "...in war may be patriotic and necessary, but bipartisanship on foreign policy in peace time means withdrawing from discussion and democratic decision the most fateful decisions of our time. Why should there be bipartisanship on the China question or on the H-bomb? The result is to leave national policy to be made by the State Department and the Military bureaucracy." He concluded: "Though the Republicans made much of 'TRUMAN's War' in the 1952 election, all the signs indicate that the Democrats will go along loyally and willingly with IKE's, anytime he gets up nerve enough to take the plunge."

In additional articles, the subject discussed in critical terms two bills (S. 3427 and S. 3428) which he described at the new police state bills sponsored by the Attorney General; rapped the initiation of criminal contempt charges against BEN GOLD's counsel (HAROLD I. GAMMER) for sending a questionnaire to the Grand Jury which indicted GOLD; and quoted testimony before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee considering wire-taps as evidence wherein ROBERT COAR, Director , Joint House Senate Radio Facility of Congress

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stated it was possible to distort meanings on recordings and that such had actually been done on a speech by WINSTON CHURCHILL for demonstration purposes.

In the May 1954 issue of the Weekly, STONE in his opening article, wrote a descriptive piece about the scene at the Supreme Court Building, the decision day on which the ruling on segregation of negroes in our education system was held to be unconstitutional. STONE attributed the decision to the growing political power of the negro and stated "In a showdown, American democracy had proven itself real. It was the votes which counted."

"The Drift Toward War Continues" was the caption on STONE's second story in which he urged that readers bear in mind a few observations amid the confusing international news. Regarding the conflict between Russia and the United States, he pointed out that NEHRU had said the contending forces in the world were now so evenly matched that neither side could impose its terms on the other. The second observation is that only the Communist side feels it can afford peace because its dictators can hold the Soviet bloc together, whereas peace would dissolve the American-organized alliance; and the third observation is that the leadership of American society has no faith in the capacity of our system to stand up in peaceful competition and co-existence with the Soviet bloc. STONE opined that the United States only became excited about the war in Indo-China when settlement of it became a prospect and an extension of Communist power southward portended a shift in power advantageous to the Soviets. He concluded: "Thus a neurotic great power, unsure of itself, goaded by extremists at home, with its peace movement gagged, and still (despite Korea and Indo-China) under the delusion of quick and easy victory by air power, drifts toward war. It would be unwise to underrate the danger where such weak hands are on so skittery a wheel."

Subject was critical of the State Department and the White House over the shipment of arms to Guatemala. He said: "The fact seems to be that Guatemala, denied arms by the United States and allied countries, has been shopping elsewhere. As a sovereign government, it has a right to buy arms where it pleases. What we are really trying to do is to enforce an illegal arms embargo against Guatemala because it is engaged in a dispute with the United Fruit Company....In much the same hysterical vein was the attempt by DULLES to link the Honduras strike with Guatemala. The fact is that Honduras has no labor legislation

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whatever, and labor unrest there was long overdue."

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In a miscellaneous section, STONE wrote that the legalization of wire-tapping may possibly be defeated in Congress; criticized Senator KNOWLAND of California and wrote that his family's newspaper in Oakland, California had editorially approved "appeasement" and a "Munich" where fascism was concerned in the late 1930's; made light of a speech by J. EDGAR HOOVER before the Military Chaplains Association regarding attempts by Communists to infiltrate churches, and suggested the conclusion would be that the pulpit would have to be policed by the FBI; mentioned the "For America" organization which he described as the old "America, First" group and said the group is opposed to a war against Communism as it was to a war against Fascism and said: "In this it follows the line of its chief sponsor, Colonel McCORMICK of the Chicago Tribune. Since this crowd would be McCARTHY's chief base in the event of a complete break with the Republican party leadership, and he is out to oppose whatever EISENHOWER wants, do not exclude the possibility that McCARTHY may take a demagogic line in opposition to intervention in Indo-China, as he has taken a 100 per cent parity line with the farmers. McCARTHY's obsession is not Communism, but power."

STONE quoted in another article from the Catholic weekly, "The Commonweal." He mentioned that four years ago the Pope issued a decree excommunicating Communists, but that the decree has not kept Italian Catholics out of the Communist Party, and the anti-Communists in Italy can see the advantage in this, because if it weren't for the Communist scare Italy wouldn't receive nearly as much American aid, and in addition the large number of Communists makes the soldiers and factory workers politically unreliable in the event of a war, and thus the West would make little use of Italy's plants and Armies and she would avoid any destruction from attack.

A frequent contributor, JENNINGS PERRY, wrote the article on the last page and he was concerned with a speech President EISENHOWER delivered before the Military Chaplains, urging them to install in the soldiers religious values vital to "defend freedom against totalitarianism." PERRY said the Chaplains' aim was improvement of the fighting quality of the troops, but one over which the chaplains should pause and consider that that job in some other modern armies is delegated to political commissars. He stated that the Chaplains "have a proper function in the camps and behind the battle lines--consolation, whenever it will be received." But he added

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"Whenever they become propagandists, they are apt to place the dieties they serve in very embarrassing situations."

In the May 31, 1954 issue of the Weekly, STONE wrote his feature article about the loyalty case and indictment of VAL R. LORWIN, former member of the State Department, now teaching at the University of Chicago. He related that LORWIN had been indicted by a Grand Jury for perjury in that he had denied being a member of the Communist Party. This indictment was dropped by the Department of Justice and the prosecutor of the case, WILLIAM GALLAGHER, was suspended by the Department of Justice because he had reportedly misrepresented the facts to the Grand Jury. STONE says this, too, is misrepresentation and that actually, GALLAGHER was made the "goat" of the case because Attorney General BROWNELL did not want to produce in court the testimony of HAROLD W. METZ, who testified against LORWIN in the loyalty proceedings. According to STONE, LORWIN belongs to a well-known Socialist family, and political illiteracy on the part of METZ confused him (METZ) regarding Communism and Socialism, to the detriment of LORWIN. STONE took the position that BROWNELL dropped prosecution because it would be embarrassing to the Republican Party to have a person with such a lack of elementary political sophistication as METZ testify, particularly when it became known that METZ was Research Director for the Republican National Committee from March 1936 to May 1942, and for the HOOVER Commission (which position he currently holds). STONE complained that METZ will continue to hold a position of influence in the inner councils of the Government, while LORWIN's name will not be completely cleared. He concluded with "Such is the dirty smog that hangs over our National Capital in 1954. The innocent may still sometimes obtain justice, but the guilty continue to sit in the seats of power."

In the only other article in the issue, STONE wrote concerning the Supreme Court decision in the case of GALVAN v. PREIS which grew out of the order of deportation for ROBERT NORBERT GALVAN, a Mexican cannery worker in Southern California. It was the first test of the provision of the "McCarran" Act which makes aliens deportable for past membership in the CP. STONE said GALVAN came to the United States as a child and spent most of his life in this country, having lived here 36 years; married an American woman, and has four American sons. GALVAN had been a member of the Communist Political Association in 1944 and left in 1946; and to prove his sincerity in the break with the Communists, offered to join the party and act as an informant for the Government. The Supreme Court held for the

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WFO 100-22286

Government in this case and the law they handed down could be summed up in a famous Circuit Court decision, "There is no constitutional limit to the power of Congress to exclude or expel aliens," according to STONE. In covering other facets of the decision, STONE said "Majority opinion on the Court now accepts the principle that Congress may order whole groups of persons deported for racial, political, or other reasons. The Government's argument in the GALVAN case is as sinister as it is complacent." The subject argued that in the light of the decision it would not be possible for ex-Communist aliens to ever redeem themselves, and that the decision completely disregards the matter of "individual worthiness," and that this is not justice as we have thought of it in the past.

MISCELLANEOUS

According to T-1, of known reliability, it was learned subject had [REDACTED]

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

This information is not to be made public except in usual proceeding following the issuance of a subpoena.

T-2, of known reliability, advised that on February 29, 1954, subject addressed Anti-McCARTHY Rally at K.A.M. Temple, 50th and Drexel in Chicago, Illinois, which was sponsored by the Chicago Committee for Academic and Political Freedom. Seated on the speaker's platform were HARVEY O'CONNER and EARL DICKERSON, Chairman of the meeting. T-2 estimated that about 650 people were present in the audience.

According to T-2, the subject who was the first speaker, talked of the proposed legislation before Congress which he considered dangerous, including the wire-tapping bill and new "Treason Bill" and the "Immunity Bill." He interpreted the fight being waged as a struggle against Fascism. STONE stated he believed the Fascist movement was being conducted skillfully in which criticism has not been leveled at the Jews and negroes and the Nazi mistakes are not to be repeated. STONE pointed out that the legislation, such as the McCARRAN Act, the MUNDT-NIXON Bill, etc., originated with the United States Chamber of Commerce. STONE regards the real evil is that the United States Congress has assumed the right to interrogate citizens on their political views but what is regarded as Un-American, subversive, etc., has never been defined. According to T-2, STONE said the outlook for civil liberties is bad but there are hopeful signs, including Democratic wrath at the charge of "Twenty years of Treason"; the Bishop OXNAM case, which aroused the Protestants, and the HARRY DEXTER WHITE case, which aroused the Democrats. He added the Army and foreign service have been outraged by the charges made against them. STONE stated that an aroused citizenry is needed to defend individual rights if they are to be maintained.

According to T-3, of known reliability, subject was a speaker at a dinner sponsored by the Progressive Party of New Jersey at a rally for Civil Liberties in the Essex House in Newark, New Jersey on March 5, 1954. The dinner and rally was

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

in the form of a testimonial to JAMES IMBRIE, former Progressive Party candidate for the Governorship of New Jersey. STONE was one of the individuals commending IMBRIE for standing up for Communists, their rights and their civil liberties.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At the rally STONE spoke for 25 minutes and during that time he criticized the FBI, the Republican Administration and the Investigating Committees. He jokingly remarked that he favored outlawing the CP and doing away with the "Daily Worker" because the FBI spends all its time chasing Communists or standing in line at the Public Library to read the "Daily Worker."

He also criticized the New York City Police Department, WALTER WINCHELL and DAVID LAWRENCE. He suggested the FBI should spend its time following and arresting members of the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico, who are out-and-out terrorists, who are running rampant. Referring to the shootings by the NPPR Terrorists in Congress, he said he was sorry they missed one man he knew.

STONE remarked that it is impossible to mobilize the opinions of a large number of people, unless they are affected by situations that occur. He listed the following instances which have stirred the people in the last six months to realize the existence of Fascism in the United States:

1. The J. D. MATTHEWS affair which stirred Protestants.
2. The HARRY DEXTER WHITE case which made the Democrats realize they were the ultimate target of Fascism.
3. Distorted figures and conflicting reports from the Civil Service regarding the number of security risks terminated from Government service.
4. The shameful treatment by McCARTHY of Mrs. MOSS and her lawyer in Washington, D. C.
5. The Gen ZWICKER affair which aroused the Army and the American people.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO 100-22286

STONE charged that by slandering and lying, Attorney General BROWNELL is "out-McCarthying McCARTHY." He urged the people not to question the rules by which a Congressional Committee operates, but to question the basic evil which permits inquisition in the first place. He proclaimed that freedom must be for everybody, including Communists. He stated that some people thought the New Deal was subversive and he criticized those who berated the social gains of the last twenty years. He stated that stupidity and cowardice have been inevitable in high places in Washington, D. C. during the last six months. He pleaded with his listeners to stand firm and stay in the fight because "We are beginning to have a chance to win."

Other speakers at the dinner and rally included the following: CORLISS LAMONT; CLIFFORD P. McEVOY, chairman of the Citizens Emergency Defense Council; Professor U. H. WILSON, Princeton University; C. B. BALDWIN, National Chairman of the Progressive Party; MORTON BLOOM, Chairman of the New Jersey Progressive Party.

According to T-4, of known reliability, I. F. STONE was the featured speaker at a PP meeting for the District of Columbia, held at the home of MARTHA MALKIN, 1107 Tuckerman Street, N. W., on Saturday, March 27, 1954. The meeting was attended by about 21 or 22 persons, according to the informant. (S)

T-5, of known reliability, advised that the subject addressed a meeting at California Hall, San Francisco, on April 23, 1954, which was sponsored by the "Californians for the Bill of Rights." STONE declared in his speech that the present day efforts to flush out Communists make as much sense as the Salem trials for witches. He commented that the American Revolution was fought to secure rights for the individual, but those rights are now being jeopardized by legislative efforts to pass bills, such as the Immunity Act, Treason Act, Wire-tapping Act, and similar measures. STONE declared that it is ridiculous to think that Communists are attempting to overthrow the Government, and further if the Communists intended to do anything in the United States of that nature, it would take place in a counter-revolutionary form, not as a revolution. Subject declared further that the FBI in effect is our secret police and there is the same danger in FBI methods of operation as in those of the Soviet Secret Police.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Information copies are being forwarded to Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York, in accordance with Bureau instructions.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source	Date of Activity And/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to Whom Furnished	File No. Where Located	
T-1 [redacted]	[redacted]	3/23/54 4/21/54 5/24/54	[redacted]	Instant File	b6 b7C b7D
T-2 Panel Source, [redacted] Chicago, Ill.	Report of subject's speech - 2/29/54	3/10/54	Chicago SA [redacted]	Chicago File [redacted]	b2 b6 b7C b7D
T-3 Physical Surveillance	Report of subject's speech - 3/5/54		Newark SAs ROY J. HERRICK; [redacted]	100- 22286- 265	b6 b7C
T-4 [redacted]	Report of subject's speech - 3/27/54	3/30/54	[redacted]	100- 22286- 259	b2 b6 b7C b7D
T-5 Panel Source [redacted]	Report of subject's speech 4/23/54			100- 22286- 266	b6 b7C b7D

LEADSWASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

At Washington, D. C.

Will follow and report on subject's activities.

WFO 100-22286

REFERENCES:

Report of SA [redacted] dated April 7, 1954, at Washington, D. C..

San Francisco Day letter dated May 3, 1954.

Newark letter to Bureau dated April 22, 1954.

b6

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-348660)
FROM : SAC, New York (100-107419)
SUBJECT: EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
IS - C

DATE: 6/14/54

On 4/5/54 the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit denied a motion by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) for the permission to file a brief amicus curiae in the case of U.S. vs ELIZABETH GUILLEY GLYNN, Et Al. The ECLC was represented by attorney ROYAL W. FRANCE, 104 East 40th Street, NYC.

United States vs FLYNN; Et Al is the case in which the 13 CP leaders were convicted on 1/21/53 in USDC, SDNY for conspiring to violate the Smith Act of 1940.

"Exhibit A" filed as part of the amicus curiae brief, was a list of names of members of the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. For informational purposes that list is set out below:

2 - Albany
1 - 100 [redacted]
2 - Baltimore
1 - 100 [redacted]
6 - Boston
1 - 100 [redacted]
1 - 100 [redacted]
1 - 100 [redacted]
1 - 100 (HARVEY O'CONNOR)
1 - 100 (PAUL SWEEZY)
2 - Chicago
1 - 100 [redacted]
3 - Cincinnati
1 - 100 [redacted]
1 - 100 [redacted]

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DATE 11/24/92 BY 9803 rdt/tcy

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AWG:MH

100-22286-278

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SERIALIZED <i>me</i>	FILED <i>me</i>
JUN 16 1954	

[redacted]

Letter to Director
NY 100-107419

ATLEE, JOHN - Denison University, Ohio
AUSTIN, EDMOND O. - LAWYER, NYC
BODDE, DERK (Prof.) - University of Penna.
BOUDIN, LEONARD - Lawyer, NYC
BRADBURY, JOHN W. (Rev.) - Editor, Watchman-Examiner,
NY
CARLSON, C. LENNART (Rev.) - Episcopal Diocese
of RI.
COHEN, ROBERT S. (Prof.) - Wesleyan University
of Conn.
COUNTRYMAN, VERN (Prof.) - Yale Law School, Conn.
CRANE, HENRY HITT (Rev.) - Central Methodist
Church, Detroit, Mich.
CROWN, JOSEPH H. - Lawyer, NY
CURTISS, MINNA (Prof.) - Williamsburg, Mass.
DICKERSON, EARL B. - Lawyer, Chicago, Ill.
EMERSON, THOMAS I. (Prof.) - Yale Law School, Conn.
EVANS, MALCOLM R. (Rev.) - Brooklyn, NY
FOREMAN, CLARK - Director, ECLC, NY

COPIES CONT'D:

3 - Detroit
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
7 - New Haven
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - 100 (Prof. THOMAS I. EMERSON)
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - 100 (Prof. FOWLER HARPER)
4 - Newark
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
2 - Omaha
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
4 - Philadelphia
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - 100 [REDACTED]

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b7C

Letter to Director
NY 100-107419

FRANCE, ROYAL W. - Lawyer, NYC
GOLDBERG, HARVEY J. (Prof.) - Ohio State University
GOLDBERG, ROBERT E. (Rabbi) - New Haven, Conn.
HABER, DAVID (Prof.) - Yale Law School, Conn.
HAMLIN, TALBOT (Prof.) - Columbia University, NYC
HARPER, FOWLER (Prof.) - Yale Law School, Conn.
HOWELLS, JOHN N. M. - Chairman, Liberal Citizens
of Mass.
HUBERMAN, LEO - Editor, Monthly Review, NYC
KAHLER, ERICH (Prof.) - Cornell and Princeton
Universities
KIRSTEIN, ELINOR F. (Mrs.) - Author, NYC
LAMONT, CORLISS - Columbia University, NYC
LEVIN, HARVEY J. (Prof.) Penna. State College
LEVINSON, MARSHALL (Prof.) - Penna. State College
and Princeton
MC WILLIAMS, CAREY - Editor, "The Nation", NYC
MILLER, GLYDE (Dr.) - Author, NYC
MITCHELL, BROADUS (Prof.) - Rutgers University, NJ
MORSE, NANCY (Dr.) - University of Mich.
NATHAN, OTTO (Dr.) - NYU, NYC

COPIES CONT'D:

2 - Portland
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
2 - Savannah
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
3 - WFO
1 - 100 (I. F. STONE) -
1 - 100 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-81752 (COMPROS - NY)
1 - NY 100-80641 (CPUSA - Organization)
1 - NY 100-80864 (CPUSA - Religion)
1 - NY 100-94031 (Cominfil of Education)
1 - NY 100 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-68223 (LEONARD BOUDIN)
1 - NY 100 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-81860 (CLARK FOREMAN)
1 - NY 100-111152 (ROYAL W. FRANCE)

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Letter to Director
NY 100-107419

O'CONNOR, HARVEY - Author, RI
PICKERING, JOHN M. - Editor, NY
REDDING, LOUIS L. - Lawyer, Wilmington, Delaware
ROGOW, ARNOLD (Prof.) - University of Iowa
ROSEN, SAM (Dr.) - Physician, NYC
ROSENWALD, ROBERT - Sculptor, NYC
SHIPLER, GUY EMERY (Dr.) - Editor, "The Churchman",
NY
SIMKINS, A. W. (Mrs.) - Columbia, SC
STILLMAN, EDGAR, JR. - Elizabeth Irvin High
School, NY
STONE, I. F. - Editor, "I. F. STONE'S Weekly",
Washington, DC
STRAUS, NANCY P. (Mrs.) - Washington, DC
SWEETZ, PAUL - Editor, Monthly Review, NH
VAN HORN, OLIVE (Miss) - NYC
WALSH, J. RAYMOND - Economist, NY
WILLIAMS, WILLIAM A. (Prof.) - University of
Oregon

COPIES CONT'D:

1 - NY 100-105520 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-8599 (LEO HUBERMAN)
1 - NY 100-115461 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-25780 (CORLISS LAMONT)
1 - NY 100-98442 (C. REY MC WILLIAMS)
1 - NY 100-87869 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-91923 (DR. OTTO NATHAN)
1 - NY 100 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-117432 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-87734 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-118431 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-112344 [REDACTED]
1 - NY 100-79316 [REDACTED]

b6
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Letter to Director
NY 100-107419

The "Daily Worker" an east coast Communist daily newspaper, issue of 10/8/51, page 1, columns 4 and 5, in an article entitled "150 Notables Form Emergency Civil Liberties Committee," reflected that Professor PAUL LEHMANN of the Princeton Theological Seminary, had on 10/7/51 announced the formation of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. LEHMANN stated that the purposes of the Committee would be to help mobilize public opinion in support of the traditional American Constitution guarantees of civil liberties and to render aid to victims of abridgment of these liberties, in politics, education and the professions.

T-1 (New York Office Confidential Mail Box) made available a copy of the March, 1954 issue of "Rights" published by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Avenue, NYC. It was shown that the director of the organization is CLARK FOREMAN.

LOUIS BUDENZ, former Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker" advised on 6/23/50 that in numerous Politburo meetings during the 1940's, he heard CLARK FOREMAN referred to as a CP member and as late as 1944 or 1945 JACK STACHEL, convicted CP leader, gave similar information.

~~SECRET~~DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-06-2010

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, WFO (100-22286)

DATE: JUN 29 1954

FROM : [REDACTED] SA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISESUBJECT: ISADOR F. STONE
SM-Cb6
b7Cb6
b7C
b7D
b2

On March 24, 1954, Confidential Informant [REDACTED] (cover with T symbol), of known reliability, advised SAs [REDACTED] that the Hungarian Legation, Washington, D. C., directed communications of uniform size on said date to a number of individuals. The below-listed addressee was among this group: (S)

Mr. and Mrs. I. F. STONE
5618 Nebraska Avenue
Washington, D.C.

4/22/92 9803 rdd/Hay
Classified by
Declassify on: OADR

The original information is located in WFO file 105-4649-142. (S)

[REDACTED] had previously advised that the celebration of the Ninth Anniversary of the Liberation of Hungary (Hungarian Liberation by the Soviet Army) would be held in Washington, D. C. on April 3 and 4, 1954, and that the invitations would be sent out during the week of March 21 to 27, 1954. (S) b2 b7D

BLH:ab / BRH / BRH

100-22286-279

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED <i>me</i>
JUN 29 1954	
FBI - [REDACTED]	

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b7C~~SECRET~~

AIR - TEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW YORK, 7/1/54

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

BUREAU

I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY, IS - R; TASS NEWS AGENCY, IS - R.

OFFICE OF ORIGIN WASHINGTON FIELD. [REDACTED] ADVISED ON

6/24/54 THAT I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY, 301 EAST CAPITOL STREET,

WASHINGTON 3, D.C., CORRESPONDED WITH TASS NEWS AGENCY, THE

OFFICIAL SOVIET NEWS AGENCY IN THE US, LOCATED AT 50

ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NYC, EXACT DATE UNKNOWN, BUT APPROXIMATELY

IN JUNE, 1954. ORIGINAL MATERIAL IN THIS MATTER IS CONTAINED

IN NY FILE NO. 105-8561-1A1. REFERENCE IS MADE TO PAGE 11

IN THE REPORT OF SA [REDACTED] IN THE CASE OF

[REDACTED] WA; IS - R, DATED 1/5/54 AT NY, A COPY

OF WHICH WAS FURNISHED WASHINGTON FIELD FOR INFO. INVESTIGATION

IN THIS CASE SHOULD BE INSTITUTED BY THE WASHINGTON FIELD

OFFICE IN ACCORDANCE WITH NO NUMBER SAC LETTER AF, SERIES 1952,

DATED 10/22/52 ENTITLED "ESPIONAGE AND FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE" (X)

- 4 - BUREAU (REGULAR)
- (1 - 100-183386) (TASS)
- 1 - NY 100-60713 (TASS)
- (2) - WASHINGTON FIELD (REGULAR)

FILE STRIPPED

Date 7/10/92

Initials [initials]

Classified by 9803rdd/tcy

Declassify on: OADR

FMW:BLT (#6)
NY 105-8561

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-22286-280

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SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 6 1954	

[REDACTED]

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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

INVESTIGATIONS - DOUBLE AGENT PROGRAM" AND ALSO IN ACCORDANCE WITH SAC LETTER NO. 1, SERIES 1953, DATED 1/2/53, ENTITLED "ESPIONAGE AND FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE INVESTIGATIONS - INTENSIFICATION PROGRAM." WHILE THE CONTACT APPEARS TO BE OF A LEGITIMATE BUSINESS NATURE, INVESTIGATION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED TO DETERMINE THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE SUBJECT'S DEALINGS WITH TASS. THE INVESTIGATION SHOULD BE DIRECTED AT THE POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT OR SOURCE OF INFORMATION. THIS MATTER MUST RECEIVE IMMEDIATE, PREFERRED, AND CONTINUOUS INVESTIGATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE HANDLING PURSUANT TO SAC LETTER 54-32 (Q). COPIES OF SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS SHOULD BE FURNISHED TO THE NY OFFICE FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES AND SUBSEQUENT CORRESPONDENCE IN THIS CASE SHOULD INCLUDE ONLY THE FIRST PORTION OF THE DUAL CAPTION. RUC. (C)

KELLY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRTEL

FBI WASH FIELD

7/9/54

DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK (105-8561)(RM)

I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY, IS-R; TASS NEWS AGENCY, IS-R. RE NY
AIRTEL 7/1/54 IN CAPTIONED MATTER. IN VIEW OF FACT ISIDOR
FEINSTEIN STONE, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER OF I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY,
IS THE SUBJECT OF A PENDING ESPIONAGE - R INVESTIGATION
(BUFILE 100-37078) IN WHICH WFO IS ORIGIN, IN CONNECTION
WITH SOVME, NO FURTHER INVESTIGATION OF STONE IS CONTEMPLATED
BY WFO UNDER INSTANT CAPTION, UACB.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/92 BY 9823 rdd/tay

LAUGHLIN

GFM:JFS *js* *OB*

100-22286 *W*

- 1 - BUREAU 100-183386 (TASS)
- 1 - NEW YORK 100-60713 (TASS)(RM)

AIRTEL

100-22286-281

~~100-22286~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, WFO (100-20866)

FROM : SA THOMAS C. RIES

SUBJECT: COMINFIL OF THE PP OF D. C.
INTERANL SECURITY - C

DATE: JUL 15 1954

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OTHERWISE~~

4/22/92
Classified by 9803 RDD/Hcy
Declassify on: OADR

On June 25, 1954, [] orally furnished the following information to the writer. During the interview notes were taken by the writer which are being maintained in [] For purposes of documentation this memo may be considered the original source. (X)

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PARAPHRASE TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

On the night of [] a meeting of the [] of the Progressive Party was held at 930 F Street, N. W., and those in attendance were as follows: (X)

[]

b7D

The Committee discussed the canvassing of the neighborhoods which had been performed in recent weeks (X)

TCR:SEG

1 - 100-17651 []
1 - 100-5100 []
1 - 121-901 []
1 - 100-12577 []
1 - 100-23316 []
① - 100-22286 (I. F. STONE)
1 - 101-439 []
1 - 100-2686 []

100-22286-282

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED <i>me</i>
JUL 15 1954	
FBI WASHINGTON	

[]

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b7C
b7D

WFO 100-20866

and some dissatisfaction was expressed because the same fifteen people did the canvassing on each occasion. ~~(S)~~

A discussion was had relative to preparing a leaflet on Guatemala. Most of those present were not in favor of this because the weather is too hot for any activity. [] suggested and approved the idea of getting copies of I. F. STONE's last issue of his "Weekly," which carried an article on Guatemala, and mailing these copies to Progressive Party members and approximately five hundred white and Negro ministers and trade unions. [] opposed this idea as it would cost too much. ~~(S)~~

b7D

According to the Informant, as of the evening of [] who was supposed to contact STONE in this regard, had not done so. ~~(S)~~

*as of 7-16-54
still not done*

OFFICE MEMORANDUM * UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-41016)

DATE: 6/30/54

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO
PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS
IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/92 BY 203 rdd/taj

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On 4/30/54, a written report was received via mail
from [REDACTED] Panel Source, by SA [REDACTED]

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On 4/22/54, the informant attended a CCPAF rally
at the Embassy Auditorium, Los Angeles. The first order of
business was the pledge of allegiance led by GEORGE CROWLE,
Chairman of the CCPAF.

Rev. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN was the presiding
chairman and spoke on the basic purposes of the committee.
Labor unions seemed to be the target of the people in
Washington. Their legislation is planned to break up
unions and their influence. A fight must be made to
preserve the right of unions. A depression is here, which
is unnecessary, and this must be fought. Fear is used as a
weapon, citing the Hydrogen Bomb, the Atom Bomb, extermina-
tions, freedom of speech, and its results, etc.

At a national convention of the CCPAF in Washington,
D.C., there were three delegates from Los Angeles, and Rev.
AARON A. HEIST, one of the delegates, reported on the
convention. He stated the convention was poorly organized,
but unity of purpose was brought about. There will be an
organization of the CCPAF groups in every metropolitan area
or center. These groups will work for the restoration of

HEH:mcg

cc: 2 - Detroit (100-

2 - Washington Field (100-

(REG)

(REG)

100-24642

100-32495

100-1526

100-21993

(ATTACKS AGAINST FBI)

100-22286-283

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 7 - 1954	

b2
b6
b7C
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LA 100-41016

original liberties--freedom to think, to block Fascism, and to speak out. Literature will be mailed and distributed.

COLEMAN YOUNG, a Detroit Negro, whom the informant described as Executive Secretary of a National Negro organization (the National Negro Labor Council), was the next speaker. He gave a good talk, which was somewhat hostile in attitude. YOUNG championed the young Negro and his rights in labor, and he spoke admiringly of a Negro in New York, who spoke insultingly to Mr. WOOD at a meeting, calling him a liar, etc. He stated Mr. WOOD was given a "rough time" also in Chicago and in Los Angeles.

YOUNG stated the United States is now in a depression and reached his conclusion as a result of visits with laborites in auto work in Detroit, steel workers in Pittsburgh, and workers in Chicago. He stated he is against the causes of the depression. YOUNG discussed the coming Geneva Conference, and he named the two Chinese delegates and told of the "rough time" they will give DULLES and what they will say to him.

The next speaker was Mr. JOHN MC DERMOTT (MC TERNAN), an attorney. He prefaced his remarks by explaining that his reason for not appearing at the Un-American Activities Committee after receiving a subpoena to do so was due to the receipt of a telegram cancelling the request. A later telegram saying the first message was in error arrived too late.

He talked of the policy of the Government in Washington, dwelling on fear and its effects, on the trend toward Fascism, and took up legislation which has been so much in controversy by subversive groups, and told what he considers its evils to be.

MC TERNAN stated the best way to get rid of the Un-American Activities Committee is to depopulate them. Therefore, he asked if anyone would donate \$50 to the defeat of DONALD JACKSON. Several made such donations, and the amount contributed exceeded \$600. JOE TENNY contributed \$10, and the crowd applauded when his name was mentioned.

IKE F. STONE, of Washington, D.C., spoke for one hour. He gave several quotations from THOMAS JEFFERSON, using each as a basis for some point he made concerning our

LA 100-41016

"liberties or freedom." He switched meanings to suit his own purpose. STONE's entire talk reversed the usual viewpoint. After a discussion of each of these subjects--veterans, bombs, JOE, wire-tapping, MC CARRAN, and other similar legislation--he launched into colonialism and the United States' part in preventing the people from gaining their freedom. In each, he told how our policy is taking away liberties and freedoms by means of legislation and other war-like policies. The present people in Washington are the true subversives, and we, the "pinks," the "so-called subversives," are the ones who are truly trying to preserve American freedoms. We are the patriots.

The attendance at the lower floor of the Embassy was from 600 to 700 people. One sailor was present in uniform and created some talk as he walked down to the front of the auditorium.

STONE stated the FBI has no time for crime; they would rather police opinion.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **WASHINGTON FIELD**

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 7/13/54	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6/28, 30/54	REPORT MADE BY kc
TITLE ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE, was <i>100-22286*</i>			CHARACTER OF CASE ESPIONAGE - R
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <i>Isidor J. - 100-12453-196 p. 2</i> <p>No information found in New York files concerning four correspondents of subject. One correspondent registered for ALP. <i>(R)</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">- RUC -</p> <p>DETAILS:</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"><div><i>10/22/91 9803 Addtly</i> <i>Classified by</i> <i>Declassify on: OADR</i></div><div><p>C. L. NEISEL 161 West 75 Street New York City</p><p>L. A. SALOMON & Brothers 216 Pearl Street New York City</p></div><div><p>Miss FLORENCE SHULMAN 79 Lewis Street New York City</p><p>BERNARD TALBOT 1024 Walton Avenue New York City</p></div></div> <p>T-1 further advised that one E. A. OBERLANDER, 1554 Unionport Road, New York City, has corresponded with the subject on September 13, 1953, and November 7, 1953. New York office files reflect that check of the records of the Board of Elections, Bronx County, New York, was made in 1951 and it was disclosed that ESTHER A. OBERLANDER, 1554 Unionport Road, Bronx, registered for the American Labor Party for 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1948. <i>(R)</i></p> <p><i>FILE STRIPPED</i> <i>Date 7/10/75</i> <i>Initials [signature]</i></p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		SEARCHED <i>mk</i> INDEXED <i>mk</i> SERIALIZED <i>mk</i> FILED <i>mk</i> JUL 16 1954	
5- Bureau (100-37078) (RM) ③- Washington Field (RM) 2- New York (100-90640)		<i>100-22286-284</i>	

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NY 100-90640

It is to be noted that the following concerning the American Labor Party is set out in the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", dated May 14, 1951, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.:

"American Labor Party

"1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report March 29, 1944, p. 78).

"2. Among 'organizations that are victims of Communist domination.' (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 40 and 41.)"

- RUC -

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NY 100-90640

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

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INFORMANT

Identity of Source	Date of Activity and/or Description of Information	Date Received	Agent to whom Furnished	File Number where Located
T-1 Mail Cover on I.F. STONE at Washington, D.C.	STONE received correspondence from five NY residents.	1953 (C)	SA [redacted] [redacted]	100-90640, s. 192, p. 5,6.

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b7C

MISCELLANEOUS

Records of the Board of Elections, Bronx, NY, concerning ESTHER OBERLANDER, were checked by SA ROBERT C. LAPOSSIERE, and originally reported in NY file 121-10559-18 p.3.

REFERENCE

Washington Field Letter to Director, 6/3/54.

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ON THE EBRO-
ON THE POTOMAC
THE ISSUE
IS THE SAME

THE RIGHT TO BE ANTI-FRANCO

HEAR

I. F. STONE

HOMER CLAY

DR. E. K. BARSKY

ENTERTAINMENT

THURS., JULY 22nd

8 P. M. SHARP • ADM. \$1.00

AIR-CONDITIONED

CARNIVAL ROOM

HOTEL CAPITOL

51 St. & 8 Ave.

Auspices:

VETS of LINCOLN BRIGADE

23 W. 26 St. • MU 3-5057

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/22/92 BY 903 rad/tcy

Daily Worker
July 13, 1954

Page 8
Col. 1

100-22286-285

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-1521)

DATE: 7/28/54

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

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SUBJECT: AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION
OF FOREIGN BORN
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

4/22/92
Classified by 9803 RDD/TCY
Declassify on: OADR

The following individuals who attended the National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend It's Victims, sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at Walsh's Hall, 1014 North Noble Street, Chicago, Illinois, on December 12 and 13, 1953, furnished the following described literature kits to the writer at Chicago, Illinois, on the dates indicated:

Individual
Receiving
Literature

Date Furnished
Agent

Chicago File

[REDACTED] (S)

12/14/53

100-1521-1B12
(82)

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b7D

[REDACTED]

12/15/53

100-1521-1B12
(84)

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b7C
b7D

Panel Source

[REDACTED]

12/15/53

100-1521-1B12
(83)

b6
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b7D

Panel Source

The above informants and panel sources are of known reliability. The panel sources are available to testify, if necessary, however, their identity must be protected with a T symbol in reports. The literature received by the above three individuals is described as follows:

CTH:cjr

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Copies on pages 1A, 1B, and 1C.

CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]

100-1521-1B12-286

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

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- 2 - Boston (REGISTERED)
 - 100- (ACPFb)
 - 100- (FRANCES HOOD)
- 2 - Buffalo (REGISTERED)
 - 100- (ACPFb)
 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 3 - Cleveland (REGISTERED)
 - 100- (ACPFb)
 - 100- [REDACTED]
 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 4 - Detroit (REGISTERED)
 - 100- (ACPFb)
 - 100- [REDACTED]
 - 100- [REDACTED]
 - 100- (TOM DOMBROWSKI)
- 2 - Indianapolis (REGISTERED)
 - 100- (ACPFb)
 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 3 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED)
 - 100- (ACPFb)
 - 100- [REDACTED]
 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 2 - Milwaukee (REGISTERED)
 - 100- (ACPFb)
 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 3 - Minneapolis (REGISTERED)
 - 100- (ACPFb)
 - 100- (KENNETH ENKEL)
 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 2 - New Haven (REGISTERED)
 - 100- (ACPFb)
 - 100- (LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH)

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11 - New York (REGISTERED)

100- (ACPFB)

100- (BETTY GANNETT)

100- [REDACTED]

100- (ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN,

100- (ABNER GREEN)

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

5 - Philadelphia (REGISTERED)

100- (ACPFB)

100- (Reverend KENNETH RIPLEY FORBES)

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

4 - Pittsburgh (REGISTERED)

100- (ACPFB)

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

2 - Portland (REGISTERED)

100- (ACPFB)

100- [REDACTED]

2 - Salt Lake City (REGISTERED)

100- (ACPFB)

100- [REDACTED]

3 - Springfield (REGISTERED)

100- (ACPFB)

100- [REDACTED]

100- [REDACTED]

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2 - St. Louis (REGISTERED)

100- (ACPFB)

100- (WILLIAM SENTNER)

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✓ 2 - Washington Field (REGISTERED)

✓ 100- (ACPF) (100-1141)

✓ 100- (I. F. STONE) (100-7786)

CG: A) [REDACTED] (C)

100-1331 (PEARL M. HART)

100-3298 [REDACTED]

100-3297 (ABE FEINGLASS)

100-3794 (ROBERT MORSS LOVETT)

100-3730 [REDACTED]

100-23430 [REDACTED]

100-24143 [REDACTED]

100-23444 (STEVE TSERMENGAS)

100-12050 [REDACTED]

100-13151 [REDACTED]

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1. A two-page mimeographed program for the conference stating as follows:

"NATIONAL CONFERENCE TO REPEAL THE WALTER-McCARRAN LAW
AND DEFEND ITS VICTIMS
December 12 and 13, 1953
Chicago, Illinois

PROGRAM

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1953

10:00 A.M. - Opening Session

Chairman: Pearl M. Hart, of Chicago

Greetings: Josephine Yanez, Los Angeles, Calif.
Katherine Hyndman, Gary, Indiana
Hon. Stanley Nowak, Detroit, Michigan
Evelyn Abelson, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Address: Abe Feinglass, Midwest Director, IFLWU
William Sentner, St. Louis, Mo.

Report: Abner Green, executive secretary, ACPFB

1:00 P.M. - Lunch

2:00 P.M. - Defense of ACPFB (Conference-wide)

Chairman: Harriet Barron, Administrative Secretary, ACPFB

Report: Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Co-Chairman, ACPFB

2:00 P.M. - Panel on Legal Defense (Parlor A)

3:00 P.M. - Panel Sessions

Deportation of Mexican-Americans (Parlor B)

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Freedom of the Press	(Stage)
Organized Labor	(Balcony)
Women	(Reception Room)
National Groups	(Basement)

7:00 P.M. - Conference Banquet

Chairman: George B. Murphy, Jr., Co-Chairman, ACPFB

Speakers: Rev. Mark Chamberlin, Portland, Oregon
Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Chicago, Illinois
Dr. Anton J. Carlson, Chicago, Illinois
I. F. Stone, Washington, D. C.
Prof. Ephraim Cross, New York, N.Y.
Rev. Joseph Evans, Community Church, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, New Haven, Conn.
Don Harris, Director, UE Dist. 8, Rock Island, Ill.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1953

9:00 A.M. - State Delegation Meetings:	Pennsylvania	(Parlor B)
	New York	(Parlor A)
	Ohio	(Stage)
	Michigan	(Balcony)
	Minnesota	(Reception Room)

10:00 A.M. - Business Session

Chairman: Nathan Caldwell, Jr., Chicago, Ill.

Reports: State Delegation Meetings
Panel Meetings

Address:

1:00 P.M. - Lunch

2:00 P.M. - Final Session

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CG 100-1521

Chairman: Kenneth Enkel, Minneapolis, Minn.

Reports: Credentials Committee
Resolutions Committee
Nominating Committee.

4:00 P.M. Concluding Remarks

4:15 P.M. - Meeting of Midwest Delegation "

2. 4 mimeographed pages captioned "Comparison of Observations: Walter-McCarran Law and Lehman-Celler Bill".
3. 4 mimeographed pages captioned "The National Origins Quta System".
4. 6 mimeographed pages captioned "The Racist Content of the Walter-McCarran Law (a preliminary memorandum)".
5. A printed 2¢ postcard addressed to the Attorney General of the United States printed and distributed by the ACPFB demanding that the Attorney General use the power of his high office to end deportation proceedings pending against more than 200 non-citizens because of their political opinions and affiliations.
6. A booklet with the printed cover "Help Defeat the Walter-McCarran Law and End Police-State Practices. Subscribe to the Material Issued by the ACPFB" containing blank subscription forms for "The Lamp".
7. A 35-page printed pamphlet captioned "The Walter-McCarran Law -- Extracts from Testimony before President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization" issued by the ACPFB and containing an introduction written by ABNER GREEN, Executive Secretary, ACPFB.
8. A 15-page printed pamphlet captioned "Democracy in Danger -- The Story of Deportation Case against Otto Miller" published by UE District 8, 2100 3rd Avenue, Rock Island, Illinois, and containing photographs of DON W. HARRIS, BILL SENTNER, TONI SENTNER and OTTO MILLER.

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9. A leaflet announcing the Opera Festival to be held in the Cinema Annex, 3210 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, December 11 through 24, 1953.

10. A printed leaflet captioned "Architect ... American ... This Man Is Being Sent to His Death" referring to the case of DAVID HYNN.

11. A one-page printed leaflet containing a reprint from the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch" issued dated August 26, 1952, containing an article regarding the case of CARL LATVA.

12. A 15-page printed booklet captioned "Step-Children of a Nation -- The Status of Mexican Americans" by ISABEL GONZALEZ issued by the ACPFB.

13. A printed folder captioned "U. S. Supreme Court Justices Hugo L. Black and William O. Douglas On Rights of Foreign Born Americans" issued by the ACPFB.

14. 2 2¢ postcards and a pledge printed on one card with perforations so that they may be separated for mailing purposes. Both cards are addressed to the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., and reflect that they were printed by the ACPFB. The message on one of the cards urges a public hearing on S. 2585, stating that the repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law is imperative to safeguard the rights and liberties of 14 million foreign born Americans. The message on the other postcard urges a public hearing on H.R. 6820, stating that a hearing on this bill can be the first step in adopting an immigration and naturalization policy with our democratic heritage. The third portion of this triple card provides a form for ordering copies of the Walter-McCarran Law as well as information on the Lehman-Celler Bill from the ACPFB.

15. A printed pamphlet captioned "The Justice Department Wants to Take Away My Citizenship" which was issued by the Russian-American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 130 East 16th Street, New York City, New York, and discusses the case of CONSTANTINE RADZIE..

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16. A printed leaflet distributed by the ACPFB captioned "Defeat Police-State Conditions of Walter-McCarran Law" which contains photographs of CLAUDIA JONES, BETTY GANNETT and ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

17. A one-page leaflet containing a reprint from the "New York Post" dated June 5, 1952 captioned "This Is Home and Here I Stay, Vows Bronx Painter Facing Exile As Ex-Red" which discusses the deportation case of BENNY SALTZMAN. This leaflet indicates that it was published by the Trade Union Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York.

18. A one-page mimeographed leaflet captioned "A Forum on the Walter-McCarran Law" reflecting that a current events forum group would be held on December 20, 1953, at the Chopin Cultural Center, 1547 North Leavitt Street and that JOE WEBER would be one of the speakers.

19. The November-December issue of "The Lamp" reflecting that it is published monthly by the ACPFB.

20. 3 mimeographed pages captioned "National Wins Appeal for the Rights of Foreign Born Americans -- Report on Children by Ann Linn, Detroit, Michigan.

21. A printed leaflet captioned "The Justice Department Has Stolen His Right to Bail !" stating that HARRY YARIS has been held on Ellis Island since October 24, 1952, by the Justice Department without bail. This pamphlet reflects that it was published by the ACPFB.



22. A souvenir journal, printed in the form of a magazine, captioned "National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims -- Sponsored by the ACPFB December 12 and 13, 1953, Chicago, Illinois". This souvenir journal contains a tentative program of the conference as well as a list of sponsors and greetings from numerous individuals and organizations. The back of the souvenir journal contains the wording "Greetings and Best Wishes Russian-American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Chicago, Illinois".

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The following individuals received the literature described below through the United States mail and furnished it to the writer at Chicago, Illinois, on the dates indicated:

Individual Receiving Literature	Date Furnished Agent	Chicago File
 (X)	1/8/54	100-1521-1B12 (87)
	1/10/54	100-1521-1B12 (88)

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Panel Source

A mimeographed summary of Proceedings and Resolutions Adopted at the "Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims" which was held at Chicago, Illinois, on December 12 and 13, 1953, states as follows:

"National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law
and Defend Its Victims
Chicago, Illinois December 12 and 13, 1953

SUMMARY PROCEEDINGS

George B. Murphy, Jr., introduced Pearl M. Hart, of Chicago, as Chairman of the Opening Session. Miss Hart greeted the Conference participants and discussed the relationship between the fight for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law and the preservation of democratic rights in the United States.

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"Greetings were brought to the Conference by: Josephine Yanez, of Los Angeles; Evelyn Abelson, of Pittsburgh; William Sentner, of St. Louis; Katherine Hyndman, of Gary, Indiana; Hon. Stanley Nowak of Detroit; and George Wastila, of Superior, Wisconsin, who reported on the December 11th pre-conference meeting of foreign-language newspaper editors.

"The chair, with authorization of the Conference, appointed the following chairmen of the Conference Committees: Credentials Committee - Alma Foley, of Minneapolis; Resolutions Committee - Saul Grossman, of Detroit; Nominating Committee - Frances Gabow, of Philadelphia.

"Abner Green, executive secretary of the ACPFB, delivered the Committee's annual report. (Copy of report will be forwarded shortly.) Before delivering his report, Mr. Green moved, as the first action taken by the Conference, that a telegram be sent to the Attorney General protesting the arrest in deportation proceedings of Steve Tsermengas, Greek-American leader in Chicago, on December 10th, and condemning denial of bail in his case; also that a telegram of solidarity and support be sent to Steve Tsermengas in Cook County Jail. The conference adopted this motion unanimously.

Saturday Afternoon

"The first hour of the Afternoon Session was devoted to a discussion of the Defense of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Harriet Barron, administrative secretary of the ACPFB, served as chairman. Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, of Hartford, Connecticut, Co-Chairman of the ACPFB, reported on developments in the Committee's defense, their significance, and her six-week tour of the country in defense of the ACPFB. Participants were: Dave Greene, of New York; Alex Wright, of the Progressive Party of Western Pennsylvania; Vincent Andrulis, editor of Vilnis, who spoke for those victimized by the Walter-McCarran Law; and Anne Perpich, administrative secretary of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, who reported on the December 11th pre-conference meeting of defense committees and proposed a special resolution adopted by the defense committees. The resolution on defense of the ACPFB was adopted. (See Resolutions Adopted.) The delegates rose for a minute's silent tribute to the memories of Norman H. Tallentire and Refugio Roman Martinez.

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"At 3:30 P.M., conference panel sessions were held as follows: Organized labor - Don Harris, of Rock Island, Illinois, chairman; William Sentner, reporter; Rose Touralchuk, of Buffalo, New York, secretary; Deportation of Mexican-Americans - George B. Murphy, Jr., chairman; Anne Perpich, reporter; Josephine Yanez, secretary. Women - Elsie Zazrivy, of Cleveland, chairman; Vickie Starr, of Chicago, secretary. The panel on legal defense was chaired by Pearl M. Hart. National group panels were held at the same time.

"At 6:00 P.M., a showing was held of "The Sentner Story," a 20-minute film story of the case of Tonie Sentner, of St. Louis, who faces deportation to Yugoslavia, while here husband, Bill, is threatened with jail under the Smith Act.

Evening Session

"The Conference Banquet was held on Saturday evening. George B. Murphy, Jr., of New York, co-chairman of the ACPFB, presided. Speakers included: Rev. Mark Chamberlin, of Gresham, Oregon, secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action; Nathan Caldwell, Jr., of Chicago, executive secretary of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, of the University of Chicago; Rev. Joseph Evans, of the Community Church of Chicago; Dr. Anton J. Carlson, of Chicago, world-famous scientist; I. F. Stone, of Washington, D. C.; Prof. Ephraim Cross, of the College of the City of New York; Don Harris, Director of UE District 8, Rock Island, Illinois; and Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith. A financial appeal resulted in contributions of \$3811.50 and in pledges of \$3,350.00.

Sunday Session

"The Sunday afternoon and morning sessions were combined in order to make it possible for certain delegations to leave by 2:00 P.M. Alec Jones, assistant secretary of the ACPFB, served as Chairman.

"The following reports on meetings of State Delegations were delivered: Pennsylvania - Joseph Mankin; New York - Dave Greene; Ohio - Kenneth Gemmill; Michigan - Tom Dombrowski; Minnesota - Alma Foley; Massachusetts - Frances Hood.

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"The following reports on Panel Meetings were delivered: Legal Defense - Blanch Freedman; Organized Labor - Rose Touralchuk; Woman - Vickie Starr; Deportation of Mexican-Americans - Josephine Yanez.

"The following reports on Meetings of National Groups were delivered: Bulgarian-Albanian - B. Mircheff; Jewish-Ruth Heit; Lithuanian - Vincent Andrulis; Italian - Joseph Navarra; Russian - George Sharak; Rumanian - Jacob Balan; Polish - Hon. Stanley Nowak; Czechoslovak - Dr. John M. Marsalka; Hungarian - Julia Berecz; Ukrainian - Michael Rakochy; Finnish - Arvid Taipele; Croatian - Arthur Bartl.

"The report for the Resolutions Committee was presented by Saul Grossman. (Resolutions attached)

"The report for the credentials Committee was delivered by Alma Foley. 321 delegates and visitors attended the conference. Participants came from the following states: California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Missouri, Florida, Oregon, Minnesota, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Iowa. They represented National Group Organizations, Trade Unions, Defense Committees, Women's Organizations, Foreign Language press, civil rights organizations and others. In addition to those groups reported above there were representatives from Negro, Mexican, Serbian, Greek, German and Carpatho-Russian organizations.

"The report for the Nominating Committee was delivered by Frances Gabow. Officers elected: Honorary Co-Chairmen: Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, of Salt Lake City; Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, of Hartford, Conn. Co-Chairmen: George B. Murphy, Jr., of New York; Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, of Philadelphia. Executive Secretary: Abner Green. Treasurer: Charles Musil. The conference re-affirmed its support and confidence in the work and leadership of Harriet Barron, administrative secretary, and Alec Jones, assistant secretary.

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Messages Received

"The following messages were received by the Conference: Congressmen Thomas B. Curtis, of Mo.; Thomas S. Gordon, of Ill.; and Barratt O'Hara, of Ill. Dr. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley, Mass.; Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati; Dr. Willard Uphaus, executive director, World Fellowship, Inc.; Dr. Ellen B. Talbot, Spartansburg, S. C.; M. E. Travis, Secretary-Treasurer, IUMMSWA, Denver; James Coe, Pensacola, Florida; Bertha C. Reynolds, Stoughton, Mass.

"Also: Judge Edward P. Totten, San Clemente, Calif.; Dr. William Wells Denton, Tucson, Arizona; Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Shady, N. Y.; William L. Patterson, executive secretary, Civil Rights Congress; Giacomo Quattrone, East Boston Deportation Station, Mass.; Israel Blankenstein, Felix Kusman, Herman Nixon and Boris Sklar - Ellis Island, Eulalia Eignedredo, Warsaw, Poland; Juditz Defense Committee, New York; Friends and Neighbors of David Hyun, Los Angeles.

SUMMARY PROGRAM

"The National Conference indicated that major attention of all organizations and individuals should be devoted to the following seven-point Action Program:

"FIGHT AGAINST DEPORTATION: The cases of David Hyun, of Los Angeles, facing deportation to Korea on the charge of past membership in the Communist Party; Giacomo Quattrone, held in the East Boston Deportation Station, Mass., for deportation to Italy on the ground of affiliation with the Communist Party; Robert Galvan, of San Diego, whose appeal challenging an order deporting him to Mexico, is to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court in January 1954.

"FIGHT AGAINST DENATURALIZATION: The cases of Hon. Stanley Nowak, of Detroit, former Michigan State Senator; John Steuben, of Chicago, editor of MARCH OF LABOR; Paul Novick, of New York, editor of Jewish daily newspaper, MORNING FREIHEIT; Rose Chernin, executive director, Los Angeles

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"Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Special support, if necessary, to the defense of Harry Bridges, of San Francisco, President of ILWU.

"FIGHT FOR RIGHT TO BAIL: Cases of Steve Tsermengas, of Chicago, held in Cook County Jail; Israel Blankenstein, Felix Kusman, Herman Nixon and Boris Sklar, held at Ellis Island, New York. Special attention to the case of Giacomo Quattrone, held since January 1953, to secure his release on bail pending disposition of his Court appeal.

"FIGHT AGAINST SUPERVISORY PAROLE: Cases of Alexander Bittelman, Betty Gannett and Claudia Jones, whose test of constitutionality of Supervisory Parole is pending in the Federal District Court in New York.

"PUBLIC HEARINGS FOR LEHMAN-CELLER BILL: Visits to Congressmen; distribution of special folder; Petition to Congress; support for lobby in Washington during January 1954.

"DEFENSE OF ACPFB: Month of March 1954 designated as DEFEND ACPFB MONTH, with meetings, affairs and special activities organized during the month to secure protests and action in defense of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

"FINANCES: Campaign for \$50,000 to defend the ACPFB and to defend victims of the Walter-McCarran Law. This fund to be raised by April 1, 1954.

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"National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law
and Defend Its Victims
Chicago, Illinois - December 12 and 13, 1953

R E S O L U T I O N S A D O P T E D

Resolution on the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

"For twenty-one years, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has faithfully served the American people and the cause of human liberty by defending the democratic rights of non-citizens and naturalized American citizens, and helping foreign-born Americans with problems resulting from their foreign birth. The program and work of the Committee has been commended and supported by Americans in all walks of life, including the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the Hon. Cordell Hull, Wendell Willkie, the Hon. Harold Ickes, and many others.

"We regard the work and program of the American Committee as vital to the existence of democratic liberties in the United States. We view with grave concern, therefore, the attempt that is being made by the Attorney General to outlaw the American Committee and prevent it from carrying on its work in defense of foreign-born Americans and the Bill of Rights. We condemn the Attorney General's action in petitioning the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the American Committee to register as a "communist-front" organization as an attack on the liberties of all Americans.

"It is our feeling that these proceedings against the American Committee are an attempt by the Attorney General to eliminate the organization because it defends the rights of non-citizens and naturalized citizens against whom the Attorney General has initiated deportation or denaturalization proceedings under the Walter-McCarran Law. We are aware of the fact that the Attorney General has announced his intention to initiate proceedings to deport 12,000 non-citizens and denaturalize 10,000 naturalized American citizens. It is our opinion that the Attorney General seeks to outlaw the American Committee in order to make possible the success of his widespread attack on the Bill of Rights in these 22,000 proceedings against foreign-born Americans.

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"We resolve to defend to the limit the right of the American Committee to carry on its work. We pledge our complete support for the Committee in its defense against the Attorney General's fantastic charges filed with the Subversive Activities Control Board. We pledge also to rally all forces we can to protest against these unjustified proceedings which seek to outlaw the American Committee.

"We call on the Attorney General to withdraw the petition he has filed with the Subversive Activities Control Board in the case of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

"We call on all organizations and individuals to protest against these SACB proceedings and to support fully the American Committee's defense against these unfounded charges.

"To provide the funds needed for the Committee's Defense and its work in this period, we launch from this National Conference a campaign to raise \$50,000 by April 1, 1954, for the defense of the American Committee and for its work in defense of foreign-born Americans.

"We are determined also to guarantee appropriate campaigns and activities in defense of the American Committee and we therefore designate the month of March, 1954 as DEFEND THE ACPFB MONTH. We call on all organizations in all parts of the country to organize special activities during the month of March for the defense of the organization that defends foreign-born Americans and, thereby, the liberties of all Americans. We urge that special meetings and campaigns and affairs be organized during March to guarantee an effective fight for the defense of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law

"The Walter-McCarran Law has been condemned by the overwhelming majority of the American people as racist, discriminatory, and repressive. It seeks to use the non-citizen as a scape-goat in order to legitimatize police-state conditions of living for the American people. It discriminates against most

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"of the peoples of the world in its immigration sections. It jeopardizes the status of American citizenship by making second-class citizens of naturalized Americans.

"Due to its general repressive and discriminatory character, the Walter-McCarran Law is totally unacceptable. Each section of the Law reflects that bias of those who were responsible for drafting it and securing its enactment by Congress over the President's veto in June 1952.

"Therefore, we call on the Congress of the United States to repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and to adopt an immigration and naturalization law that would be in keeping with our democratic and liberty-loving heritage.

Lehman-Celler Bill

"Thirty-two members of Congress have joined in sponsoring the Lehman-Celler Bill, which provides for the repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law and adoption of a new immigration and naturalization policy for the country.

"We regard this Bill as being extremely important to the welfare and the liberties of the American people. We are shocked, therefore, by the agreement reported by the "New York Times" of September 24, 1953, between Senator McCarran and Republican leaders in Congress to prevent any revision of the Walter-McCarran Law when Congress reconvenes in January, 1954. We regard this agreement as a conspiracy against the expressed will of the American people to revise or repeal the Walter-McCarran Law.

"We call on the Congress of the United States to guarantee that public hearings be held on the Lehman-Celler Bill to provide the American people with an opportunity to be heard concerning this vital question. We call on all organizations interested in preserving the democratic process to join in this demand for public hearings for the Lehman-Celler Bill, at which the American people will be given the opportunity to propose changes which will strengthen the Bill.

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"In order to fight effectively for public hearings, we adopt the following minimum program of action:

1. To visit all Congressmen during Christmas week to urge upon them that they demand public hearings on the Lehman-Celler Bill, and that they work actively for the repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law.
2. To sponsor a Petition to Congress for public hearings.
3. To utilize the special post-card printed by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born for public hearings.
4. To circulate as widely as possible a special printed folder concerning the fight for public hearings for the Lehman-Celler Bill, as well as any other material that is published as part of this campaign.
5. To call for and support a special mobilization in Washington, D.C., during the coming session of Congress, to lobby for public hearings for the Lehman-Celler Bill.

Amendments to Lehman-Celler Bill

"In a statement issued on August 3, 1953, when they introduced the Lehman-Celler Bill, the thirty-two members of the United States Congress who sponsored this legislation declared in part that, "The proposed Act does not purport to be a finished product," and called for "public discussion and comment" concerning the Bill's provisions.

"In the spirit expressed by the Bill's sponsors, we urge that the Lehman-Celler Bill be amended in the following manner before it is enacted by Congress:

1. Repeal of the section providing for deportation of non-citizens who "have taught or advocated subversive doctrine" or "have been members of or affiliated with any organization which advocates or teaches subversive doctrine." Since there are already laws to punish acts of treason, this and similar provisions are unnecessary and serve only to create prejudice. This provision, based on McCarthyite standards, would deny

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"non-citizens freedom of speech, belief, or association, and would always make possible the development of hysteria in times of political or economic crisis in the country.

2. Repeal the section providing for denial of citizenship to any non-citizen who, within five years before filing a petition for naturalization, advocated or taught "subversive doctrine" or belonged to any organization so advocating.

3. Repeal the provision authorizing arrest of non-citizens without warrant.

4. Repeal the exception in the provision that, "The right of any person to bail in proceedings under this Act shall be inviolate, except in cases affecting the national health and security of the United States."

5. Repeal the section providing that, if deportation of the non-citizen cannot be effected within six months after a final order, the non-citizen "shall become subject to such further detention or supervision pending eventual deportation as may be prescribed by the Commission." This provision authorizes life-time imprisonment for non-deportable non-citizens.

6. Repeal of all provisions authorizing Supervisory Parole of non-citizens ordered deported but whose deportation cannot be effected.

7. Repeal of all provisions seeking to throw the burden for achieving deportation on the shoulders of the non-citizen ordered deported.

8. Repeal of the provision authorizing the deportation of non-citizens to any country that will accept them.

9. Repeal all provisions that interfere with non-citizens' opportunities to secure full Court review and consideration of deportation orders.

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10. Repeal of all provisions for the fingerprinting and registration of non-citizens and for annual reporting by non-citizens.

11. Repeal all provisions seeking to establish a "central index" of all non-citizens in the United States or permitting exchange of information concerning non-citizens between the agency responsible for them and the FBI.

12. Repeal provision establishing a Joint Committee on Immigration and Citizenship Policy of the United States Congress.

Staying of Proceedings Until Congress Can Act on the
Lehman-Celler Bill

"The Attorney General has announced that the Justice Department is preparing to initiate 12,000 deportation proceedings and 10,000 denaturalization proceedings. At the same time, hundreds of non-citizens are threatened with indictments and other persecutions for alleged violations of the Walter-McCarran Law.

"The Attorney General is proceeding with this drive on the rights of foreign-born Americans despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the American people have voiced their opposition to the Walter-McCarran Law and called for its revision or repeal. The Walter-McCarran Law is one of the most unpopular laws ever enacted by a United States Congress. The popular opposition to this Law resulted in the introduction of the Lehman-Celler Bill, sponsored by thirty-two members of Congress, for the repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law.

"Deportation and denaturalization proceedings seriously damage large numbers of non-citizens and naturalized citizens, as well as their American families, entailing unnecessary publicity, loss of jobs, financial expense, emotional and mental disturbance.

"This inconvenience and hardship for thousands of

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"Americans and their families may be made unnecessary by Congress in 1954 when it considers the Lehman-Celler Bill and repeals or revises the Walter-McCarran Law.

"Therefore, we call on the Attorney General to stay all proceedings now pending or to be initiated under the Walter-McCarran Law in those cases where hardship is entailed or where the proceedings are based on political opinions or activities.

Rights of Foreign Born

"The Walter-McCarran Law provides more than 125 grounds for the deportation of non-citizens without any regard to the length of time the non-citizen may have lived here. It provides numerous grounds for the denaturalization of naturalized American citizens without any regard to the length of time the person may have been a citizen.

"Non-citizens can be subjected to all kinds of harassment and persecution under the Walter-McCarran Law. They can be arrested without a warrant and denied bail if arrested in deportation proceedings. They must report their address, and supply other required information, once a year to the Attorney General. They must report any change of address within ten days to the Attorney General. They must carry on their person at all times their Alien Registration Cards, which serves to establish a Gestapo pass system in the United States. Violation of any of these provisions is punishable by jail sentences, fines, and then deportation.

"The status of three million non-citizens living in the United States today, denied all democratic rights and denied the protection of the Bill of Rights, creates serious dangers to the liberties of all Americans.

"We fully support the provision in the Lehman-Celler Bill that any non-citizen who has lived in the United States for twenty years or more could not be deported for any reason whatsoever.

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"We fully support the provision in the Lehman-Celler Bill that any person who has been a naturalized citizen for ten years or more cannot have his or her citizenship revoked on any ground whatsoever.

"We call for an end to the Alien Registration provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law, as well as for the provisions ordering non-citizens to report annually, report any change of address, or carry on their persons at all times their Alien Registration Cards. We call on the American people and their organizations to right to re-establish the democratic rights of all non-citizens in the United States as essential to the preservation of American liberties. We demand that the Bill of Rights of the United States constitution apply to all within our borders.

Racial Discrimination in the Immigration Laws

"The Walter-McCarran Law seeks to freeze into immigration law the jim-crow and anti-Semitic policies too long a blot on the American scene. Through this racist law, the United States has adopted the master-race theory of Hitler Germany and scuttled the fundamental spirit of brotherhood, which is the cornerstone of democracy.

"The Philippine Islands, Korea, Japan, China, Burma, Indonesia - along with other Asian countries - are lumped together into a so-called Asian-Pacific Triangle, in which almost two-thirds of the world's population lives. This Asian Pacific Triangle is given a quota whereby not more than 2,000 persons can enter the United States in any one year. In addition, nations within the continent of Africa are allowed annual quotas of only 100.

"A quota within a quota is the decree for West Indians. Although Great Britain, for instance, has an annual quota of 65,000, immigration from the British West Indies is limited to no more than 100 a year within the 65,000 quota.

"This is the pattern of discrimination embodied in the United States immigration laws. It is a pattern which is consistently discriminatory. The most cursory examination of

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"the quota procedures shows that color or descent becomes the yardstick of acceptance within our borders. This conference views this shameful policy as one which fosters hatred and prejudice. We condemn this policy and support the adoption of an immigration policy without discrimination as to place of birth, race, color, religion, or political belief.

Supervisory Parole

"The Walter-McCarran Law Provision authorizing Supervisory Parole for certain non-citizens is abhorrent to the American concept of democracy. This outrageous provision subjects non-citizens who cannot be deported, since no country will accept them as deportees, to virtual house arrest. They must report in person periodically, in many instances once a week, to immigration officers; submit to "medical and psychiatric examination", "give information under oath" as to their associations and activities; "conform to such reasonable written restrictions on conduct or activities as are prescribed by the Attorney General." These "restrictions" include disassociation from the Communist Party or any so-called affiliate of the Communist Party, which is intended to force non-citizens to discontinue any association with the labor or progressive movement. Failure to comply with these Supervisory Parole conditions is a criminal offense punishable by one-year imprisonment in jail.

"Untold hardship, insulting treatment, and indignities are accorded non-citizens placed on Supervisory Parole. In many instances, the non-citizen cannot secure or hold a job as a result of having to report once a week in person. Virtual isolation from family and friends would often be necessary to comply with these odious conditions.

"We condemn the provision in the Walter-McCarran Law for Supervisory Parole as a police-state procedure reminiscent of Nazi Germany. We call for an end to this harassment of honest and law-abiding non-citizens. We demand that the Justice Department cease forcing these onerous conditions on non-citizens. We call on all organizations to expose these conditions to their membership and to their communities so that the American people can become fully aware of the un-American treatment accorded decent non-citizens under the Walter-McCarran Law.

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Bittleman-Gennett-Jones Test of Supervisory Parole

"We commend the action taken by Alexander Bittelman, Betty Gannett, and Claudia Jones in refusing to accept the Supervisory Parole conditions the Justice Department attempted to impose in their cases. We commend the challenge of the Supervisory Parole conditions initiated in their cases in Federal District Court in New York, and pledge our complete support in the fight to establish the unconstitutionality of the Supervisory Parole provision of the Walter-McCarran Law.

Denaturalization Cases

"RESOLVED: That this Conference condemn the denaturalization proceedings initiated by the Justice Department against more than 45 naturalized American citizens under the Walter-McCarran Law. We pledge our support to all naturalized American citizens whose citizenship is under attack, especially in the cases of Hon. Stanley Nowak, of Detroit, former Michigan State Senator; John Steuben, editor of "March of Labor," who became an American citizen while a member of the armed forces of the United States; Paul Novick, editor of the Jewish daily newspaper, "Morning Freiheit", and Rose Chernin, executive secretary of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. We regard this attempt to use the Walter-McCarran Law in order to establish a status of second-class citizenship for naturalized Americans as a threat to the citizenship rights of all Americans, native as well as foreign-born.

Denial of Bail

"For the past five years, the Justice Department has been trying to destroy the American right to bail by selecting certain non-citizens arrested in deportation proceedings for special persecution. These non-citizens are held without bail, in some instances for as long as a year or more, pending hearings, appeals, and the six-month period after a final order for deportation has been issued. As we meet today, four non-citizens are being held on Ellis Island: Herman Nixon, 73 years old; Israel Blankenstein, 66 years old; Boris Sklar, 63 years old; and Felix Kusman, 44 years old.* They have been held for some months, separated from families and friends, and are destined to be imprisoned for many months more. This Conference denounces this arbitrary denial of bail to non-citizens arrested in deportation proceedings. It is

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"completely at variance with the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, thus subverting the Bill of Rights and turning over to the Attorney General of the United States unlimited powers.

"*- Giacomina Quattrone, is being held in E. Boston Deportation Station; Gilberto Delgadillo in Terminal Island, California, and Steve Tsermengas in Cook County Jail, in Chicago, Illinois.

Freedom of the Press

"Thirteen editors of foreign language and progressive newspapers and publications have had denaturalization or deportation proceedings initiated against them. The proceedings initiated against these editors are an attempt to use the Walter-McCarran Law to harass and punish editors of publications for expressing their views and opinions. We view these proceedings, in this respect, as a clear threat to the freedom of the press.

"Those facing denaturalization proceedings are Paul Novick, New York, Jewish daily MORNING FREIHEIT; Al Richmond, San Francisco, PEOPLES' DAILY WORLD; Tony Minorich, Chicago, Croatian NARODNI GLASNIK; John Steubon, Chicago MARCH OF LABOR. Those facing deportation are Moses Resnikoff, Chicago representative, Paul Yuditch, New York, labor editor, MORNING FREIHEIT; Cedric Belfrage, New York, NATIONAL GUARDIAN; Vincent Andrulis, and Leon Puseikas, Chicago Lithuanian DAILY VILNIS; Michael Nukk, New York, Estonian VUS ULM; Knut Heikkinen, Superior, Wisconsin, Finnish daily TYOMIES-ETEENPAIN; Diamond Kimm, Los Angeles, KOREAN INDEPENDENCE; Boris Sklar, New York, Russian Daily RUSSKY GOLOS. Some of the publications affected by these proceedings have been on the American scene for 50 years, others for more than 25 years. Throughout the years these papers have consistently defended the rights of the foreign born.

"Because of the clear threat these Walter-McCarran Law proceedings contain for the American concept of freedom of the

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"press, we register our concern and protest. We call on the Attorney General to cancel these proceedings endangering freedom of the press and help bolster thereby the rights of all Americans, native and foreign-born.

Women

"Of the 300 non-citizens arrested in deportation proceedings, fifty-eight are women - Negro, Mexican, foreign-born of all nationalities - many of whom are wives, mothers, grandmothers of American citizens, and even in one case, a great-grandmother.

"Some are older women, who have devoted themselves to their families and communities. Some are now ill, and at this moment of their lives when they need rest and peace, they are harassed and threatened with exile from their homes and families.

"It is to the everlasting shame of the justice department, whose inhumanity is evidenced in its general treatment of foreign born Americans, that this particularly brutal and scandalous treatment of women persists.

"This Conference condemns with particular scorn the initiation of deportation proceedings against these 58 women, and calls upon the American people to demand an end to this continued persecution.

"Since the Walter-McCarran Law is responsible for this breakup of families, tearing mothers and fathers from their children, and sending them either to endless jail terms or to a strange country;

"And since the Law endangers not only personal security and freedom, but earning ability and jobs;

"We recommend repeal of this vicious law and urge all-out activity to bring up for public debate and open hearings, the Lehman-Celler Bill.

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"The Women's Panel pledges to bring the unusual cruelty of women's deportation cases to fraternal groups, PTA's, social, religious, labor and Negro groups, etc. the necessity and urgency for repeal of the Walter McCarran Law and for the defense of its victims.

"We urge that special women's committees be organized in every area, whose purpose should be the concentration on women's cases, on defense of the home, children and family, and generally, work among women's organizations.

Statement on Deportation to Mexico

"Each year, the Immigration and Naturalization Service deports many hundreds of thousands of Mexican-Americans. This deportation drive is effected by mass arrests without warrants and mass deportations without hearings. These deportees are quickly transported in large numbers across the border, and are left stranded in Mexico.

"Many of these workers are encouraged and induced to come to the United States by promises of high wages and good working conditions. These promises do not materialize, and the people suffer great exploitation. Once here, many of these workers sink roots in this country by marrying and raising families.

"The result of the deportation drive is the terrorization and intimidation of the Mexican workers to stifle any movement to better their economic and political welfare. The wresting away of the sole support of an American family, resulting in the concomitant breaking up of a family unit, creates the most agonizing hardship.

"These mass deportation drives engender the development of un-American attitudes on the part of the press and consequently on the public. The effect of these discriminatory attitudes is carried over against the entire Mexican-American community.

"We condemn the brutal and illegal mass round-ups, mass arrests without warrants and mass deportations without hearings

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"of Mexican-Americans. We call for an end to this inhuman treatment of Mexican-Americans, and for the observance of all of the elements of due process guaranteed all persons under the Constitution.

Program of Action:

1. Placement before the United Nations Human Rights Commission the plight of millions of agricultural workers in the Southwestern U.S.
2. Fight the usage of the threat of deportation as an anti-labor weapon by guaranteeing minimum wage standards and social security for all agricultural workers irrespective of citizenship status.
3. Call for a change in the Immigration and Naturalization Act whereby the status of a Mexican National can be adjusted as permanent after a 2 year residence in the U.S. and to facilitate naturalization.
4. Fight to guarantee to all Mexicans all the elements of due process such as: right to counsel, right to qualified interpreters, right to hearings, etc.
5. Call for a National publication in English and Spanish which will educate the progressive forces as well as expose the false and discriminatory attitudes fostered by the Immigration and the Press.

Return of Bail

"The Justice Department seeks to hold bail posted for the release of non-citizens indefinitely despite the fact that there is no provision in the law authorizing such action. One court decision, by Federal District Court Judge Joyce, in Minneapolis, has ruled already that, once it has been established that the Justice Department cannot deport the non-citizen since no country will accept him or her as a deportee, bond previously posted must be returned. The Justice Department, however,

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"continues to refuse to release bond. We condemn this illegal procedure by the Justice Department, and urge that court action be initiated where possible, to secure return of bond and force the Justice Department to comply with the law.

Frame-Up Cases

"The Justice Department is seeking to intensify its drive on the right of foreign-born Americans by using special legal procedures to involve non-citizens in expensive court proceedings and jail. We pledge our full support for the defense of the following non-citizens in their fight against the threat of being framed and railroaded to jail:

Nikifor Wolchik, of Bayonne, New Jersey, indicted for allegedly giving incorrect information when applying for American citizenship in 1950;

Mike Gates, of Philadelphia, indicted for allegedly failing to report his current address during January 1951 and January 1952, as required by the Law;

Martin Karasek, of Bettendorf, Iowa, Frank Spector, of Los Angeles; and Knut Heikkinen, of Superior, Wisconsin; - all three indicted and threatened with ten-year jail sentences for allegedly failing or refusing to apply for documents to facilitate their own deportations.

Galvan Case

"We voice our complete support for the challenge being made by Robert Galvan, of San Diego, before the United States Supreme Court, of the Justice Department decision to deport him to Mexico under the Walter-McCarran Law on the ground of past membership in the Communist Party. We regard this challenge of the Walter-McCarran Law deportation provisions as being of the utmost importance to the preservation of American liberties and voice our support for Mr. Galvan's fight against deportation.

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"ILWU, Local 37

"We condemn the Justice Department's attempts to use the Walter-McCarran Law to discriminate against legally-resident non-citizens who visit Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and other territories, and find that they can be screened, excluded, and deported on their return, even through they never actually left the United States. We commend the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, ILWU, Local 37, for their court challenge, now pending before the United States Supreme Court, of this provision of the Walter-McCarran Law under which Filipino-American members of the Union suffer discrimination when they return to Seattle from Alaska after the three-month canning season. We pledge our full support for the Alaska Cannery Workers Union Court challenge of this Walter-McCarran Law provision.

David Hyun

"David Hyun, 35 year old Korean-American architect, husband of an American citizen, and father of two young children, faces deportation and possible death in Korea, after having lived in the United States since he was seven years old. In August 1949, he was arrested in deportation proceedings on charges of alleged past membership in the Communist Party. His deportation was sustained by the Federal District Court in Los Angeles and an appeal taken to the Federal Court of Appeals in San Francisco, where the case is now pending. This Conference support the campaign of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in its fight against the deportation of David Hyun, and pledges all possible support to end the persecution of this Korean-American.

Giacomo Quattrone

"Giacomo Quattrone has been held in the East Boston Deportation Station, Massachusetts, denied bail, since January 1953. Charged with "affiliation with the Communist Party", Quattrone faces Walter-McCarran Law deportation to Italy. This case of a father of eight United States citizen children and a legal resident of the United States for 46 years, imprisoned

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"despite his poor health, attests to the inhumanity of Walter-McCarran provisions. We condemn the continued imprisonment of Giacomo Quattrone. We demand that the Attorney General drop deportation proceedings against Giacomo Quattrone, whose life has been devoted to promoting the welfare of the American people through the organization of the unorganized, and through his consistent leadership in community efforts.

Saul Grossman

"We commend the action taken by Saul Grossman, executive secretary of the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, in refusing to turn over the organization's records to the House Un-American Activities Committee. We pledge our support to Mr. Grossman in his defense against the indictment entered against him in the Federal District Court of the District of Columbia, on which he is to stand trial on December 21, 1953. We regard the attack on Mr. Grossman as an attempt to deprive the people of Michigan of his leadership and experience in the fight against the Walter-McCarran Law and in defense of its victims.

Message to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.

"We, 321 delegates assembled in Chicago at the National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims, wish to convey to you our sharpest protest against your continued imprisonment of seven non-citizens without bail.

"These non-citizens, all held under the Walter-McCarran Law deportation proceedings, have been charged with no "crime" other than the alleged holding of ideas contrary to those approved by you.

"Giacomo Quattrone, ill and infirm, has been held in the East Boston Deportation Station since January 1953. The father of eight American-born children, Quattrone has contributed much to the furtherance of democratic practices and ideals. Yet, today, he faces deportation to Italy for "affiliation to the Communist Party", after he has lived in the United States for 46 years.

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"Israel Blankenstein, Felix Kusman, Herman Nixon and Boris Sklar have been jailed on Ellis Island in New York Harbor from eight to two months without bail in a manner which makes a mockery of traditional justice and democratic processes. Gilberto Delgadillo is on Terminal Island, California, and Steve Tsermangas in Cook County Jail, Chicago, both also held without bail.

"We protest this undemocratic incarceration of these non-citizens and call upon you to use the power of your high office to effectuate their immediate release on bail pending eventual outcome of proceedings initiated against them.

Message to Dr. Krishna Chandra, Sacramento, California

"We greet you on your successful fight against deportation. The recent decision by the Board of Immigration Appeals, ordering cancellation of the Justice Department's proceedings seeking your deportation to India on the ground of membership in the International Workers Order, is indeed a significant victory in the fight to save the Bill of Rights for all Americans. The Justice Department regarded your case as a test case and the decision in your case may save thousands of non-citizens from the threat and harassment of arrest and deportation proceedings.

Message to Ernesto Mangaoang, Seattle, Washington

"We greet you on your successful fight against deportation. It is significant that, in defeating the deportation order in your own case, you have made an outstanding contribution to the welfare of the American people by now making it impossible for the Justice Department to continue its deportation drive against 70,000 Filipino-Americans since the Courts have determined that those who entered as "nationals" from the Philippine Island cannot be deported under the laws providing for the deportation of those who entered this country as "aliens."

Message to Harry Bridges, San Francisco, California

"We greet your recent victory in the United States

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"Supreme Court, defeating the Justice Department's attempt to frame you and your associates for allegedly committing perjury. We condemn any new attempt by the Justice Department to continue its 19-year-old campaign to deport you because of your activities as a leader of organized labor. We pledge our support to you in fighting any renewed efforts to cancel your American citizenship.

Messages to:

Giacomo Quattrone, Israel Blankenstein, Felix Kusman, Herman Nixon, Boris Sklar, Gilberto Delgadillo and Steve Tsermangas

"We, the 321 delegates assembled at this National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims, greet you. We take this opportunity to let you know we have protested your prolonged Walter-McCarran Law incarceration to the Attorney General. We consider your imprisonment a travesty of justice and a flagrant desertion of traditional American principles. We pledge our concerted efforts to fight for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law, and pledge we shall not cease in our efforts until your freedom is won and a sane immigration and naturalization policy restored to our land.

Delegations

"RESOLVED: That we authorize the Chairman to designate delegations representing this National Conference to visit Giacomo Quattrone at the East Boston Deportation Station, Massachusetts; Israel Blankenstein, Felix Kusman, Herman Nixon and Boris Sklar, at Ellis Island, New York, Gilberto Delgadillo, at Terminal Island, California; and Steve Tsermangas at Cook County Jail, Chicago; to acquaint these non-citizens of our deliberations and actions, and of our determination to fight for their freedom and against their unwarranted deportation.

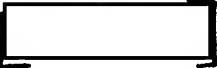
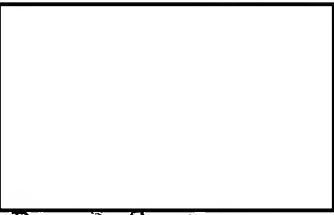
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The following individuals also received the material described below in the United States mail and furnished it to the writer at Chicago, Illinois, on the dates indicated:

Individual Receiving Literature	Date Furnished Agent	Chicago File
 (X)	1/8/54	100-1521-1B12 (86)
	1/18/54	100-1521-1B12 (89)

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Panel Source.

	1/18/54	100-1521-1B12 (90)
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Panel Source.

This literature contains the following mimeographed letter and report of ABNER GREEN given at the National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims held at Chicago, Illinois, December 12 and 13, 1953:

"American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
23 West 26th Street, New York City

December 28, 1953

Dear Friend:

"We are sending you enclosed a copy of the Report delivered by Abner Green to the National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims.

"We hope that you have been able to report already to your organization on the National Conference deliberations and decisions. If you have not reported as yet to your organization, we hope that you will be able to do so as soon as possible.

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"As a result of the National Conference, a New York Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims will be held in New York City on Saturday, February 27th. A conference will be held in Los Angeles on February 28th and in Cleveland during March. These conferences are intended to bring the program adopted at the National Conference to the areas in which they are being held.

"Also, during the past week, we had to take emergency action in order to prevent the Justice Department from deporting Manuel Cuevas Diaz to Spain, where he faces death as an anti-fascist. Cuevas-Diaz was ordered deported for illegal entry. After months of effort, asylum for Cuevas-Diaz was obtained from the Guatemalan government. At that point, the Justice Department refused to permit Cuevas-Diaz to leave for Guatemala on the ground that his departure to that country is "not in the best interests" of the United States.

"Cuevas-Diaz was scheduled to be deported to Spain on the SS Saturnia on December 18th. Emergency action in the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C., saved this man's life.

"This case illustrates again the work that is being done by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

"Sincerely yours,

George B. Murphy, Jr.
Co-Chairman

"P.S. We urge that your organization bring to the special attention of its members that all non-citizens must report their current address to the Attorney General during the month of January, as provided by the Walter-McCarran Law. Special report forms are available from the local post-office. Any non-citizen in need of advice or assistance should be urged to get in touch with our Committee immediately."

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"National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and
Defend Its Victims
Chicago, Illinois December 12 and 13, 1953

R E P O R T

By Abner Green
Executive Secretary, American Committee
for Protection of Foreign Born

"This National Conference marks the conclusion of twenty-one years of work by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The Attorney General perhaps thought he could prevent us from completing our twenty-first year of work. However, with the support of the American people, we meet again in conference this year. We intend to go on meeting and fighting until we have achieved our objective of ending the Justice Department's persecution of foreign-born Americans - and it will not take another twenty-one years to achieve that objective.

"It will not take the American people twenty-one years to defeat those forces that seek to lead us down the road to fascism and war. Today, these forces, working under the banner of McCarthyism, have intensified their reactionary offensive on the liberties of the American people. Headed by a three-ring circus - the Velde, Jenner, and McCarthy Committees of Congress - they seek to impose their rule by the use of intimidation, terror, and hysteria.

"This Conference is concerned with the status of the rights of foreign-born Americans. It is an area in which the McCarthyites have made serious inroads. The Walter-McCarran Law contains the essential feature of McCarthyism for the foreign born. It is a first step, followed by the Justice Department efforts to implement those provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law which seek to control by police-state methods the minds and lives of fourteen million foreign-born Americans. The Walter-McCarran Law is a vital part of the McCarthyite program for America.

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"But, a resistance movement and a great people's counter-offensive is under way to repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and defend its victims. This Conference is a part of that people's movement to preserve the Bill of Rights and American liberties.

"In 1798, it took the American people exactly two years to get rid of the Alien and Sedition Law. The whole history of immigration law since has been the attempt to negate by gradual steps the popular rebellion which wiped the Alien and Sedition Laws off the statute books.

"In 1893, the United States Supreme Court held that, "The right to exclude or expel all aliens or any class of aliens, absolutely or upon certain conditions... (is) an inherent and inalienable right of every sovereign and independent nation." This came in an exclusion case affecting the right of a Chinese immigrant to enter the country.

"Then, in 1905, in a political deportation case - the first in the history of the country - the United States Supreme Court declared that the "Immigrant does not become one of the people to whom (the Bill of Rights) are secured by our Constitution by an attempt to enter forbidden by law." The court was then thinking still of deportation as an adjunct of the exclusion laws. If the immigrant was not eligible to enter the country but did enter, then he could be expelled. There was as yet no attempt to deport long-time legal residents.

"But, in 1912, the Supreme Court held that deportation is not punishment, and Court decisions and immigration laws since have been able to descend to inhuman levels on the basis of this fantastic concept that deportation is not punishment.

"Several court decisions during the 1920's and 1930's continued this reactionary development. Then, in 1940, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act, setting apart the entire non-citizen population for special discriminatory treatment. In 1950, Congress resurrected the Alien and Sedition Laws in

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"the immigration provisions of the McCarran Act. In March 1952, the Supreme Court made its decisions in the Carlson bail case and in the Harisiades deportation case, holding that non-citizens arrested in deportation proceedings can be held without bail and that non-citizens regardless of their length of residence here, can be deported on the ground of past membership in a prescribed organization.

"Finally, in June 1952, Congress passed the Walter-McCarran Law.

"The Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 provided for the deportation of any non-citizen whom the administration in power might regard as dangerous to the welfare of the United States. The Walter-McCarran Act of 1952, operating in a more complex world, is more complicated than the 1798 Law. It lists more than one hundred and twenty-five grounds for the deportation of non-citizens, including one provision for the deportation of any non-citizen who has a "purpose" to engaged in activities "prejudicial to the public interest."

"All of this background is reflected in the annual statistics. The figures for deportations, outside of Mexico and Canada, show that, in 1900, 256 were deported; in 1950, 6,628 were deported, including four on political grounds; in 1952, with the McCarran Law in effect, 20, 181 were deported, including ten on political grounds. Now, in 1953, with Walter-McCarran Law on the statute books, the Attorney General speaks of twelve thousand political deportations alone, which will mean more than two hundred thousand people to be deported from the United States for non-political, technical violations. To this figure must be added a few million deportations to Mexico and Canada.

"The Walter-McCarran Law has been on the statute books for one year now. If we are to duplicate the example set for us by the American people in 1798, we have only one year left. Our goal must be to repeal the Walter-McCarran Law in 1954.

"However, our desire to duplicate the example of 1798 is not the only consideration spurring us on to fight for

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"speedy repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law. There are many more pressing reasons.

"The Walter-McCarran Law seeks to use the non-citizen as a scape-goat in order to legitimize police-state conditions of living for the American people. The rights and liberties of all Americans, native-born as well as foreign-born are seriously jeopardized by this Law. The Walter-McCarran Law has been condemned by all sections of the American people as racist, discriminatory, and repressive. In the hands of the Justice Department, it is an inhuman law - brutal and indecent.

"Once phase of its operations is illustrated in the discussion earlier this year before the Senate Appropriations Committee between Senator Ellender, of Mississippi, and Mr. Kelly, of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Mr. Kelly was testifying about the cases of non-citizens ordered deported from the United States. Senator Ellender asked, "Is there anything under the law you can do so aggravating that they will want to leave the country?"

"Mr. Kelly replied that the Justice Department was trying to do just that by holding non-citizens in detention. Senator Ellender concluded the discussion by stating that he thought the Walter-McCarran Law gives the Justice Department "full power to make conditions so distasteful that they would not want to live in the United States."

"As bad as the Walter-McCarran Law is - in the hands of the Justice Department - it becomes worse since it serves as an instrument of terror and oppression.

"Refugio Roman Martinez came to the United States in 1926, at the age of twenty-two, and devoted his life to organizing Mexican-Americans. In the 1930's, he helped found and build the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union. In 1949, the Justice Department started deportation proceedings against him. Three years of harassment and persecution broke his health. In 1952, Martinez suffered a heart attack and a paralytic stroke. In April 1953, he was ordered to surrender for deportation. His

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"friends urged the Justice Department not to proceed with his deportation because it would endanger his life. On April 28th, he was deported. Two days after he arrived in Mexico, Refugio Roman Martinez died at the age of 49.

"Norman Tallentire lived in this country for thirty-three years, devoting his life to the best interests of the American people. In 1949, he suffered a heart attack and was forced to retire from active work. In 1950, he was arrested in deportation proceedings. For three years, the Justice Department aggravated his condition, despite the fact that they were fully informed as to his serious heart ailment. For almost one year, Norman Tallentire was forced to report once a week at Ellis Island in person, there to be subjected to indignities, questionings, threats. On September 17, he was notified that he was scheduled to be deported to England in four days, on September 21. Tallentire flew to Washington to start court proceedings, which prevented his immediate deportation. But, the excitement and strain had their effect. Norman Tallentire died of a heart attack on November 8, in the midst of the court fight.

"The Justice Department is clearly responsible for the death of Refugio Roman Martinez and Norman Tallentire. Hundreds of non-citizens are being subjected to the same kind of inhuman police-state treatment.

"Mrs. Mary Baumert, of Elsinore, California, is 72 years old and has lived in the United States for 51 years. Last month, she was arrested for deportation.

"In Los Angeles on November 4th, two non-citizens were arrested and taken to Terminal Island to be held until \$4,000 bail could be posted. One was Lars Berg, 69 years old. The other was his wife, Sabina Berg, 67 years old. Mr. & Mrs. Berg are to be deported to Sweden after having lived in this country since 1904, almost 40 years.

"One arrest this year was particularly outrageous. Francesco Costa, of Rochester, New York, was arrested for deportation to

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"Italy at the age of 83 because he refused to provide information to the Justice Department that could be used to deport his son, Leonard, to Italy.

"To date, 300 non-citizens have been arrested in political deportation proceedings. Ninety-three are over the age of sixty and have lived in this country on an average of 40 to 50 years. They came here in their youth, strong and healthy. Their lives have been spent in this country. Their energies and their strength went into the building of our cities, and our factories, our railroads and our subways. Their sweat is imbedded in the bricks that went to build skyscrapers. Their life's blood is mixed with the coal dug out of the earth and the automobile coming off the assembly line.

"They organized trade unions, fought for and helped win social security and unemployment insurance, fought for equal rights and opposed jim crow, and supported and helped build everything decent and progressive in our American society.

"They have been "rewarded" already with being registered and fingerprinted like common criminals. They are being "rewarded" in January of each year when they have to report their current addresses to the Attorney General. They are being "rewarded" every day of the year by having to carry on their person - in Gestapo-like manner - their alien registration cards. Is their final "reward" to be deportation? Is this the way the American people are going to repay honest and decent immigrants for their sacrifices and their labor - separate them from their families and friends and exile them in their old age to lands whose language and whose customs they do not know? To permit this to happen would be disgraceful. The American people would stand condemned in the eyes of the world as barbarians bereft of all sense of honesty or decency.

"The Justice Department seems prepared to ignore all concepts of decency. Thousands of American families are being harassed. Thousands of non-citizens are being threatened and intimidated. Thousands of American citizens, naturalized years ago, find themselves threatened with revocation of their citizenship and possible deportation.

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"This is a program of chaos and terror. It would be impossible to calculate the extent of suffering, emotional upset, financial expense, and fear resulting from the Justice Department's attack on the rights of foreign-born Americans. But the Attorney General speaks of arresting 12,000 in political deportation proceedings and revoking the naturalization of 10,000 American citizens.

"These 22,000 proceedings would mean untold suffering for thousand upon thousands of American families. It would mean arrests, newspaper publicity, loss of jobs, financial expense, emotional strain. For the American people it would mean havoc and turmoil the likes of which we cannot imagine because it is something we have never before experienced.

"The Attorney General threatens to use the Walter-McCarran Law to completely disrupt American life. The overwhelming majority of the American people, however, have expressed their opposition to this Law. Thirty-two members of Congress are sponsoring the Lehman-Celler Bill for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law. There is every good possibility that Congress will either amend or repeal the Walter-McCarran Law in 1954. For the Attorney General to continue to use the Law in the manner that he is using it today reflects a desire to intensify political harassment and intimidation.

"This Conference must consider, therefore, the social and political effect of this Justice Department program and outline action that will prevent such havoc from being unleashed on the people of this country. From this Conference, as from all organizations, can come a public demand that the Attorney General stay all Walter-McCarran Law proceedings involving hardship or political persecution until Congress has had an opportunity to consider the Lehman-Celler Bill.

* * *

"The fight against the Walter-McCarran Law, if it is to be successful, must be conducted on two fronts - in a repeal movement and in a defense movement. These two constantly supplement and strengthen each other. The broad repeal movement that has developed during the past year has aided immeasurably in winning support for those victimized under the

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"Law. And exposure of the effects of the Law by developing broad protest movements against deportation and denaturalization has made the repeal movement constantly more a significant and vital in the life of the country.

"This Conference has before it a series of test cases in the fight against the Walter-McCarran Law.

"David Hyun, of Los Angeles, faces deportation to Italy on the charge of affiliation with the Communist Party because he made financial contributions to the Communist Party and read the "Daily Worker." Quattrone, 64 years old, has lived in the United States for 47 years and is the father of eight American-born children. His case is pending in the Federal Court of Appeals in Boston. Quattrone, meanwhile, has been held in the East Boston Deportation Station, denied bail, for almost one year, since January 19th.

"The Hyun and Quattrone cases are test cases in the fight against deportation. An effective fight in these two cases can serve not only to expose the deportation provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law but can help prevent the arrest of 12,000 non-citizens now threatened with deportation proceedings.

"In the fight to defend the rights of naturalized American citizens, four denaturalization cases are of major importance at this time. They are the cases of the Hon. Stanley Nowak, of Detroit, for ten years a Democratic member of the Michigan State Senate and a founder of the Ford Local of UAW-CIO; John Steuben, of Chicago, editor of "The March of Labor," who became an American citizen while wearing the uniform of the United States as a member of the armed forces; Paul Novick, editor of the Jewish daily newspaper, "The Morning Freiheit", who has been an American citizen for 27 years; and Rose Chernin, executive director of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

"A third major area is the right for the American right to bail. Israel Blankenstein, Felix Kusman, Herman Nixon, and Boris Sklar are today on Ellis Island, denied the right to

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"bail since their arrest in deportation proceedings. Herman Nixon is 73 years old. Three years ago he suffered a cerebral hemmoerrhage. This sick and old man has been held on Ellis Island since April 3rd because he is supposed to be a menace to the security of the United States. Neither Herman Nixon nor any of the other three non-citizens now imprisoned on Ellis Island can be deported since there is no country that will accept them as deportees. Their imprisonment is a form of political persecution and harassment made possible by the provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law.

"Growing out of the Justice Department's deportation hysteria are new frame-ups and persecutions. Nikifor Wolchik, of Bayonne, New Jersey, has been indicted for perjury because he allegedly gave an incorrect address as his place of residence when he applied for American citizenship in 1950. Mike Gates, of Philadelphia, has been indicted for alleged failure to report his address to the Justice Department in January 1951 and January 1952. Three non-citizens - Martin Karasek, of Bettendorf, Iowa; Frank Spector, of Los Angeles; and Knut Heikkinen, of Superior, Wisconsin - have been indicted for willful failure to apply for documents to facilitate their own deportations or to depart from the country, and each faces ten years in jail if convicted.

"Three other court actions must receive our special attention.

"Next month, the United States Supreme Court will hear argument in the case of Robert Galvan, of San Diego. The Galvan case challenges the constitutionality of the Walter-McCarran Law provision for the deportation of non-citizens who are past members of the Communist Party.

"Also to be heard by the Supreme Court in January is a challenge brought by the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, ILWU, Local 37, of Seattle, of the constitutionality of the Walter-McCarran Law provision under which non-citizens who are legal residents of the United States find that they can be excluded and deported when they return from a trip to Alaska.

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"Finally, we are testing in the Federal courts the constitutionality of the Supervisory Parole provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law. The Law provides that, in those cases where the Justice Department cannot carry out a deportation order since no country is ready to accept the non-citizen as a deportee, the non-citizen is to be placed under Supervisory Parole.

"In September, Alexander Bittelman, Betty Gannett, and Claudia Jones - leaders of the Communist Party facing deportation and also facing jail under the Smith Act - were summoned to Ellis Island and informed that they were being placed on Supervisory Parole. The parole conditions provided that they report at Ellis Island once a week; give information under oath as to their associations and activities; submit to physical and psychiatric examination; restrictions on their right to travel; discontinue membership in the Communist Party; discontinue associating with any person who is a member of the Communist Party, a member of an affiliate of the Communist Party, or affiliated in any way with the Communist Party.

"Alexander Bittelman, Betty Gannett, and Claudia Jones refused to accept these conditions. They went into Court to challenge the constitutionality of these Supervisory Parole conditions. Their challenge is now pending the the Federal District Court in New York.

"The Supervisory Parole conditions are a blue-print of the police-state for non-citizens whose deportation orders cannot be carried out since there is no country to which they can be deported. This means perhaps 90% of the three hundred deportation cases initiated to date. The Justice Department wants to intimidate and terrify these non-citizens with the threat of jail sentences provided by the Law for violation of any of the Supervisory Parole conditions. The Justice Department wants to isolate these non-citizens from their families and friends and to force them to leave the labor and progressive movement.

* * *

"As the attack on the rights of foreign-born Americans unfolds, it brings into its orbit growing numbers of people of all beliefs and backgrounds. Many thousands of non-citizens

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"guilty of some petty or technical violation, find themselves subjected to the same kind of harsh and bestial treatment accorded those arrested on political grounds. The development of a deportation drive affects all non-citizens, not only those against whom it appears to be directed. We must be prepared to help and defend all non-citizens harassed, threatened or arrested by the Justice Department and provide them with every possible assistance in their efforts to remain in this country with their families.

"It is clear now that certain groups of people are special targets of the Justice Department's deportation hysteria.

"One of the major objectives of the deportation and denaturalization drive is to weaken the organized labor movement. The history of the Harry Bridges case exposes the anti-labor character of attacks on the rights of the foreign born. John Santo, Ferdinand Smith, Charles Doyle, and Refugio Roman Martinez are labor leaders who have been casualties of the deportation drive. The denaturalization proceedings against James Matles, James Lustig, and Sam Sweet illustrate the use of denaturalization proceedings to attempt to undermine the status of labor leaders.

"A large number of those arrested in deportation proceedings are rank-and-file and local union leaders and members. Of the three hundred arrested, a rough tabulation shows that at least 90 - or about one-third - are active trade union members. Unions affected in the American Federation of Labor include Machinists, Teamsters, Typographical Workers, ILGWU, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Ironworkers, Textile Workers, Carpenters and Painters; in the CIO, Steelworkers, Clothing Workers, Rubber Workers, Woodworkers, Oil Workers, and Auto Workers; in independent unions, Furriers, ILWU and UE. In Western Pennsylvania alone, ten founders and members of the National Miners Union are among those arrested for deportation. There are in all at least forty American Federation of Labor locals; fifteen CIO locals, three United Mine Workers locals; and twelve locals of independent unions. This would indicate that the deportation drive is a widespread attack on members of organized labor.

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"A second target is the progressive social and fraternal movement in foreign-born communities. The Justice Department aims to force non-citizens to discontinue membership, in or any association with, progressive organizations that fight for peace and civil rights. Non-citizens are subjected to all kinds of harassment and threats because of their activity in labor and progressive organizations. The attack on non-citizen members of the International Workers Order is one illustration of this operation, which threatens all fraternal, social and cultural organizations in the foreign-born communities.

"A third major grouping under special attack are non-citizens and naturalized citizens associated with foreign-language newspapers. The foreign-language press plays a vital rôle in the life of fourteen million foreign-born Americans. The Justice Department's campaign to destroy freedom of thought in the foreign-born communities of the country includes, as a special target, the destruction of those independent newspapers which seek to bring to their readers an understanding of the people's fight against McCarthyism. Eleven persons associated with the foreign language press, including seven with daily newspapers, are threatened with deportation or denaturalization. But it is not just the foreign-language press that finds itself under attack. Credic Belfrage, editor of "The National Guardian," faces deportation and Al Richman, of San Francisco, editor of the "Daily People's World," is threatened with denaturalization.

"A fourth group victimized by the Justice Department is the Mexican-American community in the United States. The Justice Department maintains a continuous and unrelenting attack on the rights of Mexican-Americans, not only recent arrivals but also long-time residents, including native-born American citizens of Mexican descent.

"The United States government treats Mexican-Americans in an inhuman manner. Arrest without warrant is the rule. Mass raids and arrests in Mexican-American communities, including police raids on Mexican-American homes, are being conducted constantly. Road-blocks are set up, all vehicles stopped and any Mexican-American who cannot then and there establish legal residence in

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"this country is removed from buses and automobiles and deported without any hearings or opportunity to defend himself. It is in this area that we can see in operation already the use of mass deportations as a means of achieving terror and oppression over entire communities of people.

"During the first six months of 1953, more than 480,000 persons were deported to Mexico - almost one-half million people - or an average of 2,000 deportations each day of the week. Further illustrating the fact that this is an attempt to use deportations to terrorize large groups of people and maintain a source of cheap labor for the large agricultural interests of the Southwest, almost one-half million people are brought into the country for agricultural work. This is intended to maintain a population in flux and available for the most difficult jobs at the lowest possible pay.

"The defense of the rights of Mexican-American non-citizens is not the responsibility alone of the people of the Southwest or Southern California, where the major concentrations of Mexican-Americans are to be found. The immensity of the problem and its effect on our country, requires that all organizations assume responsibility for developing a fight against the terrorization and deportation of Mexican Americans.

"Since enactment of his Law, Senator McCarran has tried to create the impression that it has eliminated racial discrimination in the immigration and naturalization law of the country. The Walter-McCarran Law does provide for the entry of immigrants from Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Burma, and other countries previously barred, and grants them the right to become American citizens.

"But, as a part of the repressive and racist character of the Walter-McCarran Law, there are endless discriminations against natives of these Far Eastern countries. comprising a majority of the people of the world, they are allotted the smallest possible immigration quotas of one hundred each year. All kinds of racist concepts written into the Law further limit immigration from these countries.

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"Illustrating the racist character of the Walter-McCarran Law is the provision affecting immigration from the British West Indies. In the past, immigrants from the British West Indies entered under the British quota of about 60,000 each year. The Walter-McCarran Law, while maintaining an annual quota of 60,000 for Great Britain, limits the British West Indies to no more than 100 immigrants a year. This is obvious racist legislation aimed at preventing Negroes in the British West Indies from entering the United States.

* * *

"This report has concerned itself at length with the cases of individuals and problems of defense because of the urgent need to establish more effective defense of those individuals under attack. While hundreds of organizations have spoken out against the Walter-McCarran Law, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is the only organization in the country that defends those victimized by the law while fighting for its repeal. It is only natural, therefore, that this Conference should give special consideration to the defense of those attacked by the Walter-McCarran Law as an integral part of our fight for its repeal.

"The movement for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law is one of the most heartening developments in the fight to preserve the democratic liberties of the American people. Due to its repressive and discriminatory provisions, the Walter-McCarran Law is opposed by the overwhelming majority of the American people. It is one of the most unpopular laws every enacted by the United States Congress. Organizations of the most diverse political and social views are united in their opposition to this law.

"Yesterday, Mayor-elect Wagner, of New York City, condemned the Walter-McCarran Law as an "ugly monument to the theories of racism and isolationism." Last month, the CIO National Convention in Cleveland went on record officially for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law. Organizations and individuals representing a cross-section of America are on record publicly for repeal of this police-state law.

"The President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, in its report, reflected astonishment at the fact that,

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"of the 600 witnesses who appeared before the Commission's hearings, very few - no more than 25 by actual count - supported the Law. Most of the 575 who opposed the Law felt that it is such a bad law that the only thing to do is to repeal it.

"The continuing protests against the Walter-McCarran Law resulted finally, on August 3rd, in the introduction of a repealer - the Lehman-Celler Bill - sponsored by 32 members of Congress.

"The Lehman-Celler Bill repeals the Walter-McCarran Law and proposes a new immigration and nationality law for the country. It is an exceedingly interesting and important piece of legislation, one of the most significant ever introduced in this field of immigration and naturalization.

"It would remove the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Justice Department and establish it as an independent agency of government. It provides that any non-citizen who has lived in the United States for twenty years or more could not be deported for any reason whatsoever. It provides that any person who has been a naturalized citizen for ten years or more could not lose citizenship by revocation proceedings for any reason whatsoever.

"Under the Walter-McCarran Law, a non-citizen can be deported regardless of length of residence in this country and citizenship can be revoked regardless of how many years ago citizenship was obtained.

"The Lehman-Celler Bill reflects a completely different attitude to the rights and status of non-citizens and naturalized citizens. The Lehman-Celler Bill gives recognition to the democratic concept that, once a person has settled in this country, has become a part of its social and political life, he or she should be immune from the threat of exile or persecution because of foreign birth of non-citizenship.

"It is regrettable that the Lehman-Celler Bill, which reflects basically a progressive and humane point of view,

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"contains several of the police-state provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law. These include arrest without warrant, denial of bail in deportation proceedings, registration and fingerprinting of non-citizens, annual reporting, and supervisory parole. In perpetuating these Walter-McCarran Law provisions for non-citizens, the Lehman-Celler Bill reflects a dangerous concession to the McCarthyite spirit.

"The 32 sponsors of this Bill, when introducing it, stated that, "The proposed Act does not purport to be a finished product" and called for "public discussion and comment" concerning the many provisions of their Bill. In the spirit expressed by the Bill's sponsors, we urge that they amend the Lehman-Celler Bill to make all sections uniformly progressive and democratic.

"At the same time, we are faced with several serious problems in seeking to repeal the Walter-McCarran Law.

"The House and Senate Judiciary Committees are in position to defeat the Lehman-Celler Bill by preventing it from ever reaching the floor of Congress. The June 1952 voting records show that ten members of the Senate Judiciary Committee voted for passage of the Walter-McCarran Law over the President's veto, while only three members opposed it. In the House Judiciary Committee, 15 members voted for the Walter-McCarran Law, while nine opposed it.

"These are serious odds against any fair consideration of a bill repealing the Walter-McCarran Law. But, Senator McCarran and his McCarthyite cohorts are afraid to take any chance with even this advantage. On September 24, "The New York Times" reported that Senator McCarran had made an agreement with Republican leaders in Congress that there are to be no changes in the Walter-McCarran Law in 1954. This conspiracy is spelled out to the extent where it is agreed that the Lehman-Celler Bill is to be tabled without debate by the Senate and House Judiciary Committees when Congress reconvenes in January.

"This agreement results from the fear that consideration by Congress of any changes in the Walter-McCarran Law will

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"result in completely revising or even repealing the Law. The McCarthyites in Congress are afraid to give the people an opportunity to be heard because they fear that Congress could not withstand the strong and insistent demand for basic changes or repeal of the Law.

"Our first objective, therefore, must be to win public hearings for the Lehman-Celler Bill when Congress reconvenes in January. Because of the character of the opposition to the Walter-McCarran Law, it should be possible to win public hearings for the Lehman-Celler Bill. This demand for public hearings is not a commitment of support for the Bill and therefore can win the support of an even greater number of organizations and individuals than has the fight against the Law for its repeal.

"We propose that this Conference issue a call for a lobby in Washington during January to fight for public hearings for the Lehman-Celler Bill. We must focus national attention on the Congressional conspiracy. We must expose this conspiracy to the American people if we are going to be able to defeat it.

"We are not alone in this fight. A National Committee is now being organized to work for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law under the leadership of United States Senator Herbert H. Lehman. The organizations which have spoken out against the Walter-McCarran Law - hundreds of thousands of organizations - are a part of this movement to win decent treatment for foreign-born Americans. Local conferences and mass meetings for revision or repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law are being held in the major centers across the country. The strength and vitality of the repeal movement is demonstrated, if additional proof is needed, by the very existence of the McCarran conspiracy in Congress since it would not be necessary for the McCarthyites to conspire and make deals against a weak opponent.

"Let us guarantee an effective demonstration in Washington in support of the people's fight to win public hearings for the Lehman-Celler Bill as a first step toward the repeal of the hated Walter-McCarran Law.

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"Certain important victories have been scored during the past year in the fight against the Walter-McCarran Law and in defense of the rights of the foreign born.

"Most outstanding perhaps was the victory won by the labor movement in defeating the attempt to frame Harry Bridges and railroad him to jail for perjury. The victory in the Bridges case was a set-back for American reaction. Any new attempt to revoke Bridges' citizenship, and to continue the 19 year campaign against this labor leader, must meet the same fate as all past attacks on Bridges. Today Harry Bridges is an American citizen. The people must guarantee that he retains his American citizenship.

"Another member of the ILWU has scored a significant victory. In June, the Federal Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled that Ernesto Mangaoang, business agent of the Alaska Cannery Workers Union, ULWU, Local 37, of Seattle could not be deported because, when he came here from the Philippine Island, he entered as a national and the Law provides for the deportation of those who entered as "aliens." This decision means that some 70,000 Filipino-Americans can no longer be intimidated by the Justice Department with the threat of deportation. The importance of this decision is heightened by the fact that, on November 2, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the government's appeal and the Court of Appeals decision prevails.

"In Minneapolis, last month, a Federal District Court ordered the Justice Department to return \$4,000 in bonds in the Rowoldt case. Charles Rowoldt was ordered deported to Germany but cannot be deported since Germany will not accept him. Last year, Rowoldt was placed on Supervisory Parole. He asked for the return of his \$4,000 bond posted in the deportation proceedings. The Justice Department refused and indicated that it intended to hold on to the bond indefinitely. Rowoldt sued and the Federal District Court ordered the bond returned. Similar court action is now being planned in other cities since the Justice Department seeks to ignore the clear provisions of the Law when it tries to hold indefinitely bonds posted in deportation proceedings.

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"On of the most significant victories in the fight against the deportation drive was scored in the case of Dr. Krishna Chandra, of Sacramento, California. In 1950, the Justice Department started proceedings to deport Dr. Chandra to India solely on the ground that he had been a member of the International Workers Order, a fraternal insurance organization. The hearing officer in San Francisco ordered Dr. Chandra deported. The Board of Immigration Appeals, in Washington, however, reversed the decision and ordered the deportation proceedings terminated. Among the grounds for the Board's decision was its determination that neither Dr. Chandra nor the IWO lodge of which he had been a member participated in any activities that were detrimental to the United States.

"These victories are some indication of the important work that is being done by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. For 21 years, the American Committee has defended countless numbers of non-citizens and naturalized citizens. Now it has the responsibility to develop defense in a new kind of case - a defense of the organization itself.

"In 1951, the Justice Department used the New York Grand Jury in an effort to destroy the Committee by railroading its executive secretary to jail. That attack failed completely.

"Now, the Attorney General seeks to use the registration provisions of the 1950 McCarran Law to destroy the Committee. He seeks to outlaw the organization, to make it impossible for the Committee to function. There are obvious reasons for the Attorney General's attack.

"First, the Attorney General seeks to disrupt the people's movement for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law by starting proceedings against our Committee. Then, we defend those he seeks to deport or denaturalize. Time and again we have challenged - often successfully - the Attorney General's activities in the Federal courts. We regard it as our duty to expose the Justice Department's violations of law and mistreatment of foreign-born Americans.

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"The Attorney General has announced that he will use the Walter-McCarran Law to deport 12,000 non-citizens and denaturalize 10,000 naturalized American citizens. The Justice Department fears it may not be able to carry out that kind of program successfully as long as there is an American Committee to provide defense and assistance to those under attack.

"Therefore the proceedings before the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order that the American Committee register as a "communist-front" organization. There are four main charges against our Committee: (1) We defend non-citizens arrested in deportation proceedings on the charge of membership in the Communist Party; (2) We defended Gerhart Eisler against deportation; (3) We opposed the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill, and the Mundt-Nixon and the McCarran Bills; and (4) we do not like the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"To all four charges, we are proud to plead guilty.

"But, we deny emphatically the Attorney General's assertion that we did these things at the order and direction of the Communist Party and that, in carrying out these activities, we were in effect an arm of the Communist Party. We resent the insinuation that we did not have the intelligence to realize by ourselves that these attacks on the rights of the foreign born were a menace to the liberties of all Americans. It is of no great surprise to hear that the Communist Party supported and agreed with our program. So did hundreds of other organizations. So did thousands upon thousands of individuals of all political beliefs. The Convention platforms of the Democratic Party have always agreed with the essential features of our program. The Presidential candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties of 1952 stood for revision or repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law.

"Our decisions were made by our Annual Conference. We conduct our activities because we feel that they are vital to the welfare of the American people and to the preservation of the Bill of Rights for all Americans.

"Now, among the five members of the Subversive Activities Control Board, which is supposed to sit as a fair and impartial

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"body to judge our Committee and the Attorney General's fantastic charges, there is a man by the name of Watson B. Miller.

"We are accused of defending Gerhardt Eisler in deportation proceedings. Well, the man who ordered Gerhardt Eisler arrested in deportation proceedings in 1948 was named Watson B. Miller. It is the same man. In 1948, he was Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization. Today, he is a member of the SACB.

"We are accused of opposing the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill. In 1948, we appeared before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization to oppose the Hobbs Bill. Appearing for the Justice Department at those same hearings, to support the Hobbs Bill, was Watson B. Miller.

"We are accused of opposing the McCarran Law. Harry P. Cain is a member of the SACB. In 1950, there was a United States Senator by the name of Harry P. Cain who voted for the McCarran Law. It is the same man. In 1952, the people of the state of Washington voted Harry P. Cain out of office. Now he is to sit in judgement on our organization.

"We filed motions of bias and prejudice with the SACB asking that Miller and Cain either disqualify themselves or be disqualified from sitting on our case. The Board denied our motions, one of the grounds being that Miller and Cain say that they are not prejudiced against our Committee.

"Obviously, we will defend the American Committee only if we reach the American people and mobilize the people in an effective protest movement. That is a prime responsibility of all organizations and individuals concerned with guaranteeing that the foreign born attacked by the Justice Department will be defended in public campaigns as well as in the courts.

"We are determined to fight and defeat these unjust proceedings before the SACB. We will fight for the Committee's right to carry on the work it has been doing for the past twenty-one years. And, in the course of defending the American

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"Committee, we plan to maintain and even increase its activities, to strengthen the organization in order to make it a more effective instrument in the fight against the Walter-McCarran Law and in defense of the rights of foreign-born Americans.

"It is inconceivable that the American people will permit the Attorney General to arrogate to himself the determination as to which organizations are to exist in this country. That is a right vested in, and reserved by, the people of this country. The people have always - and will always - provide the inspiration and the opportunity for an American Committee as long as the need for such an organization exists. No law, no board, no administration, and no petty official will ever be able to destroy the democratic aspirations that live and grow in the hearts of the American people.

"We are of the opinion that there should be no need for an American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in this country. However, we are not going to permit the Attorney General to determine the question of its need. We prefer to accommodate the American people, and their needs and desires, rather than accomodating an Attorney General intent on using the law to spread hysteria and fear. We are going to eliminate the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ourselves - by making its work unnecessary, by ending for all time the persecution of foreign-born Americans.

While the Justice Department's attack on the rights of non-citizens and naturalized citizens has been intensified in the past year as a result of its implementation of Walter-McCarran Law provisions, there have been significant developments in the movement for the defense of their rights.

"The organized movement for the defense of foreign born today has never been paralleled in the history of the United States. There are more than one hundred functioning groups to defend the rights of non-citizens and naturalized citizens. And there is a broad people's movement for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law.

"Greater defense activities can be expected as a result

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"of the growing realization on the part of groups throughout the country of the need to develop broad organized movements to defend the rights of foreign-born Americans. On the eve of this Conference, organizations in Pittsburgh and vicinity established a Western Pennsylvania Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. We look for similar developments in cities like Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Hartford, Baltimore, and elsewhere.

"Outstanding contributions to this fight are being made by those sections of organized labor which are devoting themselves to the problem of defending members victimized by the Walter-McCarran Law. Unions providing leadership in this respect have been the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, especially in the Matles, Lustig, and Tonie Sentner cases, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, especially in defense of Harry Bridges and Filipino-American members of the Union.

"An equally important contribution is being made in the fight against the Walter-McCarran Law by national group organizations, especially in the Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Finnish, Italian, Russian, Hungarian, and Jewish communities.

"One of the factors contributing to the development of effective defense of the foreign born has been the attitude of those victimized under the Walter-McCarran Law. The foreign born are refusing to submit to the Justice Department's intimidation and are insisting on fighting for their own rights. Outstanding in this respect was the action taken in Detroit by twenty-one non-citizens who refused to accept the police-state bond conditions the Justice Department sought to impose on their cases. In February, these twenty-one non-citizens surrendered themselves, prepared to go to jail if necessary in order to fight to preserve the liberties of the American people. They were released on court bond in two hours and not one of them has been held since.

"In Los Angeles, five non-citizens were held at Terminal Island because they refused to accept the police-state conditions. After several weeks of imprisonment, their release was ordered

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"by the Federal District Court. Two of these non-citizens, Werner and Emma Grondahl, suffered serious hardship because of ill health and old age but refused to give up the fight until it was won.

"A similar contribution was made by Nat Yanish, of San Francisco, who sat in jail for two months in his fight against the new bond conditions. After two months, Yanish was released as the result of a special decision by United States Supreme Court Justice William Douglas.

"As we meet and discuss our problems this week-end, non-citizens sit in jail, hostages of the Justice Department, refusing to give up their dignity, refusing to give up their self-respect, despite oppression and presecution. From this conference, we extend our hand in brotherly solidarity to Steve Tsermengas, in Cook County Jail; to Israel Blankenstein, Felix Kusman, Herman Nixon, and Boris Sklar on Ellis Island; and to Giacomo Quattrone, in the East Boston Deportation Station.

"Our adm ration and solidarity greetings to also to three non-citizens jailed under the Smith Act. We greet Irving Potash, in Leavenworth Penitentiary, Kansas; John Williamson, in Lewisburg Penitentiary, Pennsylvania; and Jack Stachel, in Danbury Correctional Institution, Connecticut. We can never give up the fight for their freedom because we know that they sit in jail for us.

"Despite intensified hysteria, non-citizens are continuing to fight for their status and rights. No amoung of threats or intimidation can force non-citizens to desert their democratic principles or can weaken their attachment to the labor and progressive movement which they helped build and of which they are an integral part.

"The fact that the movement for the defense of the rights of foreign-born Americans has grown tremendously in this period of attack does not mean that there are no weaknesses in our fight. While the Justice Department is responsible for the death of Refugio Roman Martinez and Norman Tallentire, we were not strong enough to save them. It was possible for both of

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"these men to have been given the opportunity to live out their normal lives in this country. But, we failed to achieve that objective. Neither are we prepared for the new attacks planned by the Attorney General with the initiation of twenty-two thousand deportation and denaturalization proceedings.

"We must organize ourselves to meet these responsibilities. We must have available the means to guarantee a more effective fight to defend the rights of the foreign born and that will enable us to measure up to our responsibilities in the difficult struggles that are to come. An excellent base is there in the already existing defense movement, in the growing protest movement, in the constantly developing repeal movement. We can win this fight. We plan to organize to do so.

"This Conference marks one more year of service on the part of our national officers. In May, more than one hundred and thirty prominent Americans greeted our Honorary Chairman, Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, of Salt Lake City, on his eightieth birthday, for his contribution to the fight to preserve democratic rights. Bishop Moulton wanted to be here this week-end but poor health prevents him from travelling during the winter months. He asked that I bring his personal greetings to this Conference and to say that he is wholeheartedly a part of this fight and has no intention to stop fighting for the rights of foreign-born Americans.

"Our National Co-Chairmen have continued to make outstanding contributions to the development of our work. George Murphy has helped immeasurably in carrying out the Committee's program. Professor Louise Pettibone Smith has participated actively in the Committee's work, just concluding a five-week tour of the country in defense of the American Committee. We are to hear from Mr. Murphy this evening at our banquet and Prof. Smith is to report to us this afternoon on the campaign to defend the American Committee.

"Most of you know, or will meet this week-end, the Committee's administrative staff, which, in addition to this reporter, includes Harriet Barron, Administrative Secretary; Alec Jones,

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"Assistant Secretary; and Charles Musil, Treasurer. The work of the American Committee could not be carried on without the tireless devotion and sacrifices of its staff.

"Neither would it have been possible for our Committee to work and defend the rights of foreign-born Americans without the outstanding contributions that have been made and continue to be made by attorneys in every area of the country. We have a proud tradition of legal defense forged in tireless sacrifice by that outstanding fighter and woman lawyer, Carol King. Her work is being carried on today in every part of the land, with the major burden falling on her partner, Blanch Freedman. It is not possible for us to give expression to all our deep feelings of appreciation to the countless lawyers throughout the country who are devoting themselves in such a self-sacrificing manner to make it possible for us to provide adequate defense to foreign-born Americans attacked under the Walter-McCarran Law.

"Equally vital to the very existence of the nationwide fight to defend the rights of foreign born Americans are the independent committees in the major areas of the country who devote themselves to the defense of the people in their own communities. Their staffs are tireless, self-sacrificing and devoted. They overcome insurmountable obstacles in order to be able to carry on their work and organized activity. One, Rose Chernin in Los Angeles, is threatened with jail and loss of her citizenship. Another, Saul Grossman in Detroit, goes on trial in Washington, D.C., on December 22nd for contempt of Congress because he refused to supply the records of the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to the House Un-American Activities Committee. We have a responsibility to see that Rose Chernin and Saul Grossman do not go to jail but that they continue the work to which they are dedicated in our interests.

"Our Committee has carried an exceedingly heavy burden during this past year. The initial steps taken by the Justice Department to implement the provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law created many difficult and complicated problems that consumed great amounts of time and energy. We tried to fulfill

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"our responsibilities to the best of our ability and tried to make best possible use of our resources.

"Needless to day, there have been many weaknesses and shortcomings in our work. We are constantly seeking to correct these weaknesses and overcome our shortcomings. At the same time, we have not had the funds we needed during the past year to enable us to function with maximum effectiveness.

"It is now clear that we are going to be confronted with even more serious problems and even greater responsibilities in the period ahead of us. We are faced with the prospect of new arrests, new prosecutions, and the need to defend people against all the new varieties of harassments made possible by the Walter-McCarran Law. The Attorney General's announcement of twenty-two thousand deportations and denaturalizations is not idle talk nor an empty threat. The danger of mass arrests and mass prosecutions - the likes of which we cannot possibly imagine - is with us daily.

"We expect also that, some time next month, hearings will be started by the SACB in Washington on the American Committee's case. These hearings will take at least two months to complete and will be a serious drain on our finances and organization.

"The staff and officers of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, in keeping with its history and its tradition as a people's organization, are determined to fight the deportation hysteria and the attempt to outlaw our organization. We are prepared to make every sacrifice that may be necessary in the course of this fight to preserve the liberties of the American people.

"However, we cannot be effective unless the necessary funds are available to meet at least minimum needs. Our requirements today are doubled since we are responsible for the defense of foreign-born Americans and defense of the American Committee, as well. We propose that this Conference launch a campaign to raise fifty thousand dollars by the end of March 1954 for the defense of the foreign born and for the defense of the American Committee.

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"We look to those organizations and individuals who have supported our Committee in the past and helped us carry on our work these twenty-one years to come forward again today to meet these new and greater responsibilities.

"The atmosphere in which we live has changed sharply in recent weeks, both insofar as the McCarthyite assault on human rights and human dignity is concerned and the people's reaction against McCarthyism.

"For years we warned that the attack on minorities endangered all of the people. But, it was not until this program of smear and repression was turned upon one of its architects and threatened to make Harry Truman one of its victims, too, that the American people came to really understand that there are no limits to McCarthyism any more than there were any limits to the inhuman excesses of fascism in Nazi Germany.

"Harry Truman defined McCarthyism as "the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play" and "the abandonment of 'due process' of law". That is correct just as is Mr. Truman's warning that "The terrible cancer is eating at the vitals of America and it can destroy the great edifice of freedom."

"Other voices are being raised in warning, too.

"Walter Reuther, president of the CIO, declared on November 16th that, "our civil liberty is being threatened in America and the level of political morality has sunk to the lowest in the history of American politics. The apostles of fear and hatred and hostility are playing politics with our basic human rights."

"The General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., writing to members of eight thousand congregations on November 2nd, declared that, "Favored by an atmosphere of intensive disquiet and suspicion, a subtle but potent assault on basic human rights is now in progress."

"Professor Henry Steele Commager, writing in "The New York Times" on November 8th, charged that, "Our great tradition of voluntary democracy is now in peril."

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"The dangers condemned by these spokesmen for some of the major democratic forces in the country fall under the general heading of McCarthyism. These threats to our liberties arose in the post-war period, and developed in an atmosphere of war hysteria. But, they were not lessened by the end of hostilities in Korea. The easing of war tensions did not mean an end to the persecution of fourteen million foreign-born Americans, because the danger of fascism and new wars continue to exist. McCarthyism seeks to dominate the world and the American people are only its first victims.

"All sections of the American people are threatened. The concentrated attack on minorities - the Negro people, the Jewish people, Mexican-Americans, the foreign born, leaders and members of the Communist Party - is the cancer eating at the vitals of America. The people's resistance to these attacks, including our defense of the rights of foreign-born Americans and the campaign to repeal the Walter-McCarran Law, seeks to prevent this cancer from destroying the great edifice of freedom.

"We join with the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt in repeating his statement in 1940 that, "We are fighting for a free America - for a country in which all men and women have equal rights to liberty and justice."

"That is the only kind of America that merits our enthusiasm or the respect and admiration of the people of the world. That is the kind of America for which we are fighting today. This National Conference to promote a democratic status for fourteen million foreign-born Americans takes its place in the people's struggle for the defeat of McCarthyism, for an end of McCarranism. Our program gives life to the democratic aspirations of the American people. Our work is a part of the great traditions on which this country is founded. We speak and we fight for the right to live as free men and women in a society that is free because it would be a society that has eliminated discrimination and jim crow; because it would be a society that has ended oppression based on race, color, national origin, creed, citizenship, or political beliefs; because it would be a

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"society dedicated in the interests of the people to the cause of equality, to the cause of democracy, to the cause of peace.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, Los Angeles (100-41016) DATE: 8/6/54

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE
AMERICAN FREEDOMS
IS - C

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4/22/82 BY 903 rad/ky

On April 28, 1954, the writer received a report from Panelist [REDACTED] concerning his attendance at a meeting sponsored by the captioned organization on April 22, 1954, at the Embassy Auditorium, 9th and Grand Streets, Los Angeles, California. The original report is located in [REDACTED]

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The speakers at this meeting were Mr. COLEMAN YOUNG from Detroit whom the informant stated is the head of the Negro Labor Union (Council); JOHN McTERNAN, a Los Angeles attorney; and I. F. STONE.

YOUNG spoke of the war mongers in Washington who for their own benefit would get the United States in another Korea in Indo China. YOUNG stated that we are in a real depression and that we are faced with a growing trend toward Fascism. YOUNG stated that McCARTHY was the greatest menace in this country and he was forming the blueprint of Fascism.

McTERNAN spoke of the pending wire tapping bill and the civil rights violations of the people of this country. McTERNAN also stated McCARTHY was the greatest threat to the United States.

The following people contributed at this meeting to a fund to oust Representative JACKSON of California:

BOB KENNY	\$25.00
MYRON and FRED	
IZENBERG (Phonetic)	\$50.00
LEO BRAGER	\$10.00
DAVID GRETMAN (Phonetic)	\$50.00
MOLEY KLINE (Phonetic)	\$50.00

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AUG 17 1954	
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RJN:DMB

CC:

2 - Detroit (Registered)

65-5177 (I. F. STONE)

100-34446

100-29786

2 - Washington Field (Registered)
(I. F. STONE)

100-48606

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

WASHINGTON FIELD

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FILE NO.

REPORT MADE AT WASHINGTON, D.C.	DATE WHEN MADE AUG 17 1954	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6/9, 16, 18, 22; 7/23; 8/3, 4/54	REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] MAK
TITLE ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE, was.			CHARACTER OF CASE ESPIONAGE - R

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

DECLASSIFIED BY 9803 RAB/108
ON 12/17/91

STONE continues to edit and publish "I.F. Stone's Weekly" in which he is generally critical of the President, Senator McCARTHY, Secretary of State DULLES, the FBI, and the foreign policy of the United States. Subject scheduled to speak under the auspices of Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade in New York on 7/22/54.

- P -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

FILE STRIPPED

Date 7/10/75

Initials [Signature]

REVIEW OF I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY

The June 7, 1954, issue of the Weekly has three pages devoted to the opinion of the Hearing Board called by the Atomic Energy Commission to hear the OPPENHEIMER Case. STONE was highly critical of the decision and stated that, as he mentioned in previous issues, the point of view of the Strategic Air Command (with which he said OPPENHEIMER was in disagreement) is made the

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standard for adjudging whether scientists and others are "security risks". He said, "And this whole report shows how the spirit of our free institutions are being poisoned from within by the increased fear, hysteria and suspicion the fatal gift of nuclear fission brought with it. To cope with the dangers from the Pandora's box we ourselves unlocked, we must now seek 'absolute security' (as the report puts it) and in that search resolve all doubts against the individual and in favor of the State. This is the first premise of totalitarian society."

STONE complained that "'Security' is set up as a standard, as if it were a known quantity, easily weighed and determined. But actually where does security lie and who is to determine it? The answer of this report, if read closely, is that the military and the secret police are to be the judges. Not Congress, not popular discussion, not free debate, but the Generals and the FBI are to determine what 'security' is and make the rest of us conform to that standard. The society sketched out by this report is a combination of the garrison and police states."

STONE added: "We have come full circle in our constitutional development. One of the tests set up by this report for a security risk is whether a man is prepared to subordinate his private judgment to that of the security police. In the section on whether a man may be loyal and still a security risk, the report says a proper attitude of mind 'must include an understanding and an acceptance of security measures adopted by responsible government agencies'. This implies that the government knows best and its decision must be accepted."

In the final section of the article, he said: "Nothing that ever came from the pen of EDGAR ALLAN POE quite matches in horror the full report of the special board in the OPPENHEIMER case. A great scientist, a sensitive man, a loyal and devoted citizen (by the board's own findings) was confronted again with the regurgitation from the sewers of the security files."

The only other article in the June 7 issue was a reprint of a letter appearing in the New York Times of May 27, 1954, by RALPH BARTON PERRY, Professor Emeritus

of Philosophy at Harvard. The letter-writer took the position that the United States was urged to increase its military strength in order to be in a favorable position, diplomatically, and to be able to 'negotiate' from strength. The writer believed that with our increase in the military and industry, we have not negotiated but have become disposed to threaten and lay down ultimatums in our dealings with our enemies. We have become dictatorial in relation to our associates and suspicious and bitter toward our opponents. He regards this as unfortunate, as we must live with those with whom we disagree as the alternative is an era of violence in which all parties will be ruined. The writer urged peace by negotiation, as it does not mean abandonment of principle, but rather only a flexibility of policy, and making concessions as well as demanding them.

In its opening article, the June 14, 1954 issue discusses the split in opinion in the Eisenhower Administration, and STONE declared that the split is between those who believe World War III unavoidable and those who believe peace is possible. Inasmuch as this is tied to the problem of Indo-China, STONE pointed out that the conflicting statements and speeches coming out of Washington are confusing, but he urged that they not be read as policy, but as efforts of differing officials to win public opinion to their side. He said: "Nixon, Knowland, Radford, Carney, and Dulles have all been trying to condition the public mind for war."

STONE thereupon lauded Secretary of Defense WILSON and Secretary of Treasury HUMPHREY who he said "are both on the side of peace". STONE then quoted extensively from Secretary WILSON in his press conference before he left for the Far East on a tour of inspection, in a favorable and complimentary light.

In the second article, STONE wrote of the joint resolution introduced in Congress by 18 Democrats (and one Independent) in the Senate and six in the House for reform of investigating committee procedures. He said pressure for a fair play code has been building up steadily in the wake of the McCARTHY hearings. STONE wrote that an unsuccessful effort was made to get through a bi-partisan measure on "fair-play", but that only liberal Democrats

could be marshalled for the measure. The high-lights of the resolution include a Senate committee of five members to which complaints could be made of unfair procedure; forbid 'leaking' of one-sided accounts from executive sessions; allow defense counsel to make brief objections to the relevancy of questions and procedure; giving persons adversely affected by material obtained in executive session the right to inspect such material in advance if it is to be made public; and witnesses would be given the right to explain their answers briefly. STONE said this resolution would begin to give witnesses some protection, but that the 'code' would not end the witch hunt, but would at least put a curb on the worst evils of McCarthyism.

HR 9317, a bill introduced by Mrs. KATHERINE St. GEORGE (R., N.Y.), was also discussed by STONE. STONE said the bill would prohibit the special mail rates for any publication containing "material which advocates, advises, or teaches, explicitly or by implication favors the political, economic, international, and governmental doctrines of communism or any other totalitarian form of government, or the establishment in the United States or any foreign state of a Communist or other totalitarian form of government, or the establishment in the United States or any foreign state of a Communist or other totalitarian dictatorship." STONE wrote that this bill is one to drive radical papers, films, and books out of business, and it involves censorship by postal authorities. STONE said Mrs. St. GEORGE listed the papers and magazines which would at once be affected if the bill were adopted, and he noted that "No rightist publication, even of the most paranoid type, was on her list." All those named were leftist, according to STONE, and he noted that the Weekly was not included on the list. He criticized the bill as "one of the devices which could some day be used -- it is not too early to think about such things -- to end freedom of the press in America 'legally'."

The entire issue of the June 21, 1954 issue of the Weekly is devoted to a coverage of the crisis in Guatemala. He stated that Guatemala's history is one of slavery, and that two-thirds of its people have long been serfs in one form or another. He said that the present

regime in Guatemala has been seeking to eliminate this condition ever since the dictator UBICO was overthrown in 1944. STONE said "It is Guatemala's misfortune that the beginnings of free government and of social reform should coincide with the appearance of an American Secretary of State who was himself closely associated with the old order in Central America." He added that DULLES had knowledge of the situation because his law firm os Sullivan and Cromwell is counsel for International Railways which controls the transport system of Guatemala for United Fruit.

The subject continued: "The new regime in Guatemala may be overthrown, but that will hurt us more than the Communists. In Latin America it would again associate the United States with reaction. American intellectuals of all kinds must see that in the dynamic but limited confines of the Guatemalan revolution, the crushing of the Communists by force can only lead to the victory of the most backward native elements and their foreign corporate allies. The balance of forces is too precarious. Another Army dictatorship could be the only result. On the other hand, there is much the United States could do--if it chose--to prove itself a friend of the Guatemalan people. At present our Embassy has no contact with the laboring and agricultural masses, and our 'technical assistance program' has largely helped the big planters. It is in this context that we wish to express our solidarity with the Guatemalan people and to offer, in the documentary exhibits of this special issue, a glimpse of the other side of the question.

"We believe it especially important to call attention to the World Bank report, because this shows how honest observers, no matter how conservative, were impelled to see the need for radical reforms and socialistic development of resources in Guatemala. Capitalist interests can ultimately survive only if they show a willingness to play their part with the limits of such a program. Force may set the process back a few years, but only at the expense eventually of bringing to victory the very things we purport to fear."

Thereafter, STONE quoted from the World Bank report prepared by a Bank mission to Guatemala and

presented by EUGENE BLACK, President on June 15, 1951. The report as quoted indicated that foreign enterprises did not pay their fair share of taxes, that workers wages have not increased substantially, that poverty and illiteracy is rampant, that the foreign companies should refrain from political activity against the government, suggested a National Power Authority for Guatemala and nationalization of the railway system, admitted private capital could not finance more than a small share of the needed improvements, and said that public authorities must facilitate economic development, and Guatemala should amplify a broad six-year plan of economic and social development along lines suggested by the Bank Mission.

In addition STONE quoted a statement by the government of Guatemala dated May 21, 1954, re purchase of arms from the USSR. The statement said the government had tried to purchase arms from the United States for national defense but that the United States refused to furnish them. In addition it said "The government of Guatemala emphatically states that it has never negotiated purchase of armament from the Soviet Union or from Poland, and furthermore, declares that in our territory there is no armament or military equipment whatsoever, made in any of the above-mentioned countries. But it considers necessary to state categorically that, had negotiations taken place with the above-mentioned countries, the government would have been exercising its legitimate right as a sovereign nation to freely trade with any country in the world. Guatemala is not a United States colony..."

In the lead article of the June 28, 1954, issue, STONE discussed two bills before the House Judiciary Committee which he said were framed by Attorney General BROWNELL. He said : "To understand their full meaning, imagine an America in which McCarthy has come to power. Imagine McCarthy intent on preserving a facade of legality. Imagine that these two Brownell bills have become law. It would then be within McCarthy's power legally under HJ Res. 528 to put a special receiver in charge of their businesses and organizations, to seize their financial assets and to liquidate them. He would also be able (under HJ Res 527) to set up a blacklist which would bar opponents from employment almost anywhere in American industry under penalty of \$10,000 fine or five years in jail."

STONE condemned these bills and pointed out that under HJ Res. 528 the Attorney General could liquidate any private business, trade union, or other organization which he believed to be infiltrated by members of Communist action organizations. He added that HJ Res. 527 would allow the President to bar anyone from employment in defense facilities if he had grounds to believe they might be engaged in sabotage, espionage, or other subversive acts. STONE called upon his readers to protest the passage of these bills by their Congressmen.

In this issue STONE said the international respect for Secretary of State DULLES is at a low point. He said the State Department indulged in hypocrisy in the Guatemalan dispute, and he said the Anti-Communist "...rebels are not taken seriously; there is little likelihood that they can succeed without an Army coup d'etat inside Guatemala and that does not seem to be in the United Fruit Company cars." The subject said that DULLES abandoned French foreign minister BIDAULT in the Geneva negotiations because "Dulles was anxious to keep the war going, to take over the Associated States from France if necessary and to create another South Korea in Indo-China. In the field of Anglo-American relations, according to STONE, DULLES is also suffering because Eden and Churchill do not like Dulles and they thus by-passed him to have a personal conference with Eisenhower when they came to this country.

The case of Dr. CORT, described by American newspapers as a draft-dodger and admitted Communist who sought asylum in England was discussed by STONE. He said a whole generation of American refugees is beginning to grow up abroad as repression increases at home. He added; "It was England's glory in the 19th century to shelter exiles from older forms of despotism, and in the 20th century to give a home to those fleeing oppression in the Fascist States and in the Soviet bloc. We hope the same principle will be upheld in the case of refugees from the brand of Fascism developing in America." It is observed that Dr. CORT, rather than return to the United States went to Czechoslovakia shortly after publication of the above article.

In the July 5, 1954, issue of the Weekly, STONE described Churchill's address before the press corps in

Washington. He said Churchill now speaks the language one used to hear from Henry Wallace. He said "Churchill was magnificent. I never expect in my lifetime to hear and see a greater man. Beyond the puckishness and the hamming, there came through with tremendous sincerity the last, desperate effort of a noble old man to stem the tide toward war. His plea for 'a good hard try' at peace and coexistence could not have been spoken in a more unfavorable context; such talk has long been regarded here as subversive. The atmosphere was vividly indicated for all time when Churchill felt it necessary to assure his audience that he was not a Communist! I blush for my country."

With regard to the 'Locarno Pact' suggested by Anthony Eden, for Asia, STONE said the British see it as a means of stabilizing the situation and saving Malaya, but that Dulles does not want the situation in the far east stabilized. According to Stone, a Locarno means recognition of Peking, the abandonment of Chiang Kai-shek and the ultimate restoration of Formosa to China. He added that the liberation of peoples in the Far East is shifting the axis of world power, and that the United States is being pushed toward coexistence. He continued: "The process will take time, and will be turbulent. The possibility of war through misstep, miscalculation or just plain mischief will never be absent. The next stage may be a West European revolt against a new colonialism--the colonialism represented by American air bases in England and France. Ever since the Dulles 'massive retaliation' speech, London and Paris have been haunted by the fear that one day, without consulting them, the United States might plunge into an atomic war which would bring immediate strikes by Russia at West European air bases. So long as the bases are there, whether used in the first attack or not, England and France are fatally at the mercy of any American adventure."

In an article on J. Robert Oppenheimer, STONE wrote as follows:

"As the sun of freedom begins to rise elsewhere, it is setting here. For the cruel savagery of the Atomic

Energy Commission verdict on Oppenheimer, one must go to the great Moscow trials where the Old Bolsheviks were entrapped in a spider web woven by the secret police. Brownell's attack on Harry White last winter, the Oppenheimer proceeding now, represent another stage in the adoption here of the Russian practice of rewriting history to defame the opposition, to terrorize critics, to impose total conformity and to brain-wash the intellectuals.

"Notice that the heart of the case against Oppenheimer is that he failed to cooperate fully with the secret police. This runs like a sinister thread through the majority opinions--the intellectuals must learn to obey their police masters, and to obey without question. The FBI is to be as sacred here as the NKVD in Russia."

STONE devoted page three of this issue to a review of an article written by JOHN FOSTER DULLES entitled "The Road to Peace" which appeared in the Atlantic Monthly in October 1935. Subject, quoting extensively from the article, described DULLES as a person who not only approved appeasement of Italy and Germany before World War II, but applauded the aims of those countries. The gist of STONE's article was to describe DULLES in 1935 as pro-fascist, and anti-British.

PAUL CROUCH was the subject of an article also. STONE stated that the lawyers of JACOB BURCK, cartoonist of the Chicago Sun-Times who has been ordered deported, have compiled briefs analyzing the testimony of Immigration and Naturalization Service witness CROUCH, showing contradictions and perjury in prior cases in which he was a witness. STONE described CROUCH as a professional witness of the Department of Justice, and one who through his falsehoods has proved embarrassing to the government, but a person the Justice Department cannot at this point abandon, because to do so would be an admission that the convictions the government has gotten on Communist prosecutions in the past were achieved through tainted testimony.

Underlying all STONE's articles on foreign policy is his approval of "co-existence" with the Soviets, and Communism. In the Weekly for July 12, 1954, STONE recounts the difficulties in forming a national policy on China. He cited the threat of Senator KNOWLAND to resign as majority leader of the Senate if the Administration agreed to the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and further, he quoted extensively from speeches by Senator McCARRAN before the Senate, in which STONE charged, there were implied threats against the Administration if it should recognize the Peking government, or agree to its admission to the United Nations. STONE said that McCARRAN and KNOWLAND are alarmed because they feel that EISENHOWER is basically prepared to accept "co-existence".

In another article, STONE discussed the status of Attorney General Brownell's "police state" legislation before Congress. He was referring to bills discussed previously by STONE in the Weekly, i.e. the government's right to liquidate "Communist infiltrated" organizations, and the government's right to set up a "blacklist" of subversives to prevent them from becoming employed in certain industries. STONE related that the present bill as amended would add a new chapter to the McCARRAN Act, and the power would be given to the Subversive Activities Control Board. Subject urged his readers to write or wire their Senators to block the legislation.

"The Time to Save America from Fascism is Now" was the heading for the opening article of the July 19, 1954, issue of the Weekly. STONE recounted the measures presently being considered by Congress which subject labeled as Attorney General Brownell's repressive program. He continued that a spy-riddled and discredited Communist Party has been made the excuse of a deliberate campaign to establish thought control in the United States. According to him, the strategy of the Attorney General is set out in a document prepared for the Republican Policy Committee called 'Republican Pursuit of American Communists'. STONE regarded the document as a blueprint for the destruction of the Democratic Party. STONE again urged his readers to write their Senators and Congressmen in protest against the repressive legislation being

sponsored by the Administration, stating, "In this the midsummer of 1954, American liberty may be lost."

OWEN LATTIMORE's indictment was the subject of an article by STONE in this issue. He discussed the decision handed down by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals on that case. He pointed out that LATTIMORE benefitted in that count one of the indictment (that LATTIMORE "sympathized" with Communism) was thrown out, but that the ruling of the court cast a fearful shadow over freedom of the press by sustaining counts three and four. Count three was that LATTIMORE lied that he knew a person was a Communist when he (LATTIMORE) published his articles in the late 1930's; and count four was that he lied in denying he never, while editor of "Pacific Affairs", published an article by a man he knew to be a Communist. STONE was of the opinion that the decision would enable a Congressional Committee to subpoena any editor and question him about the political views of his contributors and the articles he has published. He concluded: "If this reasoning is upheld in the Supreme Court, editors may yet run a double gauntlet when they publish views the witch hunters dislike. They can be put into the pillory by a Congressional committee and they may be indicted for perjury on the basis of their replies."

Page three of the issue was devoted to a laudatory comment on the articles appearing in the Scripps-Howard newspapers during the previous week which had been critical of Senator McCARTHY.

"Informers" was the subject of the last article in this issue. STONE said the government's system of getting informants is vicious and declared, "An underworld of official blackmail, trafficking in fear and misery, waits to be exposed." The subject then mentioned the case of BERNARD HORWATT, an admitted former Communist who faces loss of citizenship and deportation because he failed to mention it in his naturalization proceedings. According to STONE, HORWATT told newsmen the FBI interviewed him, and he declined to name others he knew in the party, and later the FBI asked him to rejoin the

party and provide it with information which he declined to do. Subject implied the denaturalization proceedings resulted from his refusal to cooperate. STONE said also that the government is holding a perjury indictment over the head of the EARL BROWDERs in an effort to turn him into an "informer". He said: "He (BROWDER) has chosen honor and poverty over the financial rewards that might have been his if he had sold his memoirs to the magazines and the government.... An ex-Communist leader who chooses not to cash in on his past is a lonely figure in cold war America; hatred and suspicion wall him in on both sides." He concluded: "But the Department of Justice is as unscrupulous as any Communist Ministry of the Interior when it comes to using fear and threat to obtain pliant tools against oppositionists. It is time that vestigial organ, the American conscience, the vermiform appendix of the cold war, gave a few twinges on this subject."

The July 26, 1954, issue of the Weekly in the opening article discussed the results of the conference for a cease-fire in Indo-China, and said that men of good will who are still unafraid to think clearly will give thanks for the ending of the war. STONE praised the French Premier, and stated: "We also dare assert that the world owes a debt not only to Mendes-France but to the negotiators on the other side--to Molotov and Chou En-lai and Ho Chi-minh for taking half a loaf when they might have been tempted into greed by military successes or stung into obduracy by insulting provocations. The Geneva conference demonstrated what most people in this country have grown afraid to recognize--that peace is possible where there is a will to negotiate and a readiness to compromise. Our own United States attitude toward peace conferences has too long been that these are places where we lay down our terms take-it-or-leave it, unconditional surrender style. Mendes-France in his last broadcast to the French people before the settlement well described the enemy that he had to vanquish: 'distrust'. Between the men who are seeking peace together here, the Premier said, 'one notices a profound distrust, a painful distrust... It is the heaviest burden that weighs on our work, it is the most serious threat, present and future, for the maintenance of peace'.

"In the wake of the peace, the problem for Vietnam is to avoid a permanent partition; Korea and Germany are dreadful examples of the fate which awaits countries split between the spheres of influence of the contending Great Powers. The peace agreement promises elections; it is a shameful commentary on the 'free world' that it is we who insisted on postponing those elections as long as possible. Unless the neutral Asian powers insist, these elections and the reunification they would make possible may never come to pass."

After reciting the above, subject discussed "co-existence" again and indicated that Secretary of Defense WILSON at a press conference stated some method must be worked out whereby the free world and Communism can live together. This to STONE meant "co-existence", but he noted that WILSON objected to the word, but not the idea. STONE said further that President Eisenhower's position on "co-existence" is perhaps indicated in his unwillingness to give Chiang Kai-shek the mutual assistance pact the latter had been asking, and the fact that we are proposing "consultation" rather than automatic action in the Southeast Asia pact now under discussion.

In a second article, the subject wrote concerning HR 9580 which he vigorously opposed. It was described as an act to revise and extend the laws relating to espionage and sabotage. He said the bill embodies three measures which he considers repressive; (1) the death penalty for peacetime espionage, (2) a conspiracy section (he feared one might be convicted despite the fact there was no evidence of actual espionage) and (3) the registration requirement for those trained or having knowledge in espionage or sabotage.

The Senate filibuster over the Atomic Energy Bill up for consideration was the subject of discussion by STONE in the August 2, 1954, issue of the Weekly. He labeled the international exchange program for atomic energy as set out in the bill, a fraud stating Congress wanted to limit the President's powers on treaty making, and to control the security regulations of foreign countries without giving them atomic energy information or materials. With regard to the domestic aspects of the

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bill, STONE said the Administration only wanted to give a power monopoly to the private power companies, and that it was merely a giveaway of tax funds.

The subject wrote an attack on the speech delivered by Assistant Attorney General WARREN OLNEY III before the Michigan Association of Prosecuting Attorneys on July 23, 1954, entitled "The Use of Former Communists as Witnesses in Federal Trials". STONE said it was an attempt to make informers respectable. He alleged that OLNEY in his speech did not quote fully from his sources and ignored significant comment by eminent sources, which runs contrary to the point OLNEY was attempting to make in his speech.

MISCELLANEOUS

According to T-1, of known reliability, it was learned subject [REDACTED]

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The above information is not to be made public except following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

T-2, of known reliability, advises subject and his wife received an invitation to the Hungarian Legation in Washington, D.C., to attend the celebration of the 9th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary by the Soviet Army on April 3 and 4, 1954.

The "Daily Worker" for July 13, 1954, reflects in an advertisement that I.F. STONE would be one of the speakers on a program on July 22, 1954, sponsored by the Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade, which was titled, "The Right to be Anti-Franco", to be held at the Carnival

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Room of the Hotel Capitol at 51st Street and 8th Avenue
in New York City. Other speakers on the program included
HOMER CLAY and Dr. E. K. BARSKY.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Date of Activity and/or Description of Information</u>	<u>Date Received</u>	<u>Agent to whom Furnished</u>	<u>File Number where Located</u>
T-1. [Redacted]	[Redacted]	6/18/54 7/28/54	[Redacted]	Instant file
T-2, Confidential Informant [Redacted]	Hungarian Legation invitation	3/24/54	[Redacted]	105-4649-142

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b7DLEADSTHE NEW YORK DIVISION:At Ocean Beach, New York:

Will ascertain if the subject maintains a summer cottage at Ocean Beach, New York.

THE WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE:At Washington, D.C.:

Will await results of the above leads.

LOS ANGELES DIVISION: (INFORMATION)

One copy of this report is being sent to the Los Angeles Division in accordance with Bureau instructions.

SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION: (INFORMATION)

One copy of this report is being sent to the San Francisco Division in accordance with Bureau instructions.

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

REFERENCE

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated
June 17, 1954, at Washington, D.C.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-37078)

August 17, 1954

SAC, WFO (100-22286)

ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE, was. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
ESPIONAGE - R HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/20/87 BY SP-1/ty/pt
2-11-92 9803 rdd/Haf #318309

Re report of SA [redacted] dated August 17,
1954, at Washington, D.C.

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Investigation in this case reflects that subject continues in his writings to be highly critical of the President, FBI, Senator McCARTHY, JOHN FOSTER DULLES and the foreign policy of this country. For the most part he expresses and defends the views of Communists, Leftists and the Soviets. In addition he is strongly opposed to war and urges this country follow a policy of coexistence with Communism in order to promote peace. The subject apparently likes to think of himself as an independent thinker as he has been critical on occasion of the Soviets.

It is observed the only person who has placed STONE in the CP is LOUIS BUDENZ, who said he learned STONE was a member in the mid 1930's with ISRAEL AMTER, JACK STACHEL and [redacted]

Subject has been the topic of critical comment by local Progressive Party members, but he frequently appears as a speaker of meetings of Left Wing Groups and he maintains contact with persons in those groups. WFO has no information placing the subject in the CP currently and it is doubtful that he would submit to party discipline.

Physical surveillances have been conducted on the subject but extended surveillances are not considered advisable, particularly in view of the fact that he is a journalist and a critic of the FBI.

WFO has been summarizing the contents of I.F. Stone's Weekly and submitting in report form. An effort has been made to fairly summarize the viewpoints of the subject as expressed therein, but such a task necessarily involves the judgment of the reporting agent as to what is

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pertinent and representative of STONE's writings. This departs from strictly factual reporting and it is believed this practice should be discontinued by WFO, particularly in view of the fact that the Bureau at present receives each copy of the Weekly.

Because it is believed sufficient coverage can be given to the subject's activities and opinions through continuing subscriptions to the I.F. Stone's Weekly and other local informants, WFO will place this case in a pending inactive status upon receipt of the outstanding lead, UACB.